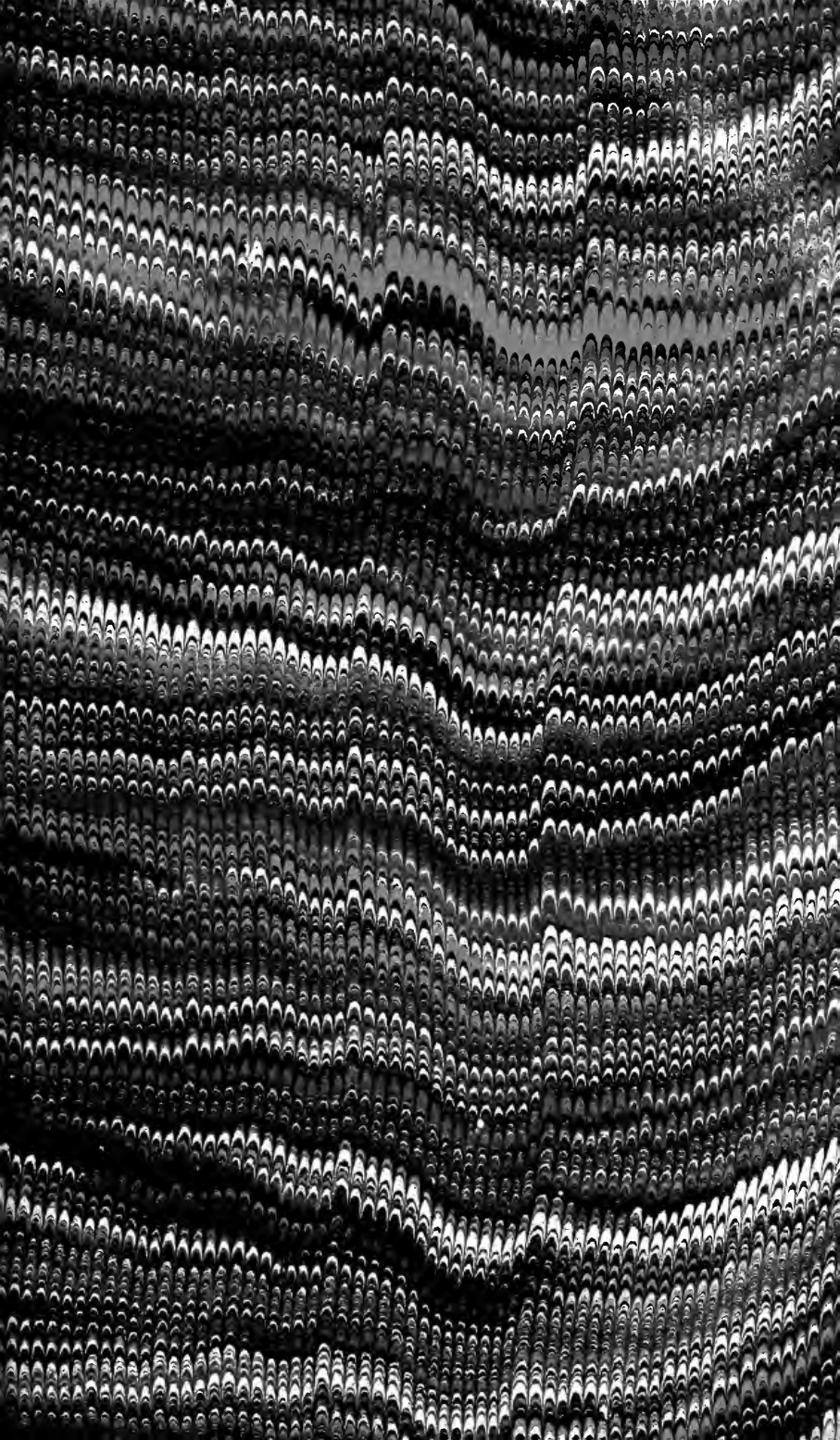




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THE
L I F E
O F
LORD GEORGE GORDON.

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THE
L I F E
OF
LORD GEORGE GORDON:
WITH
A PHILOSOPHICAL REVIEW
OF HIS
POLITICAL CONDUCT.

BY ROBERT WATSON, M.D.

L O N D O N:
PRINTED FOR H. D. SYMONDS, PATERNOSTER-ROW; AND
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1795.

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LORE GEORGE

DR ROBERT WILSON

PRINTED BY THE UNIVERSITY OF TORONTO PRESS
TORONTO, CANADA

1911

THE

L I F E

OF

LORD GEORGE GORDON:

LORD GEORGE GORDON, whether we reflect on the eccentricity of his character, or on the vicissitudes of fortune which he experienced, was undoubtedly one of the most extraordinary persons of the age. But, as a celebrated writer has justly observed, the lives of few men deserve to be transmitted to posterity; and did not gratitude for a departed friend added to a strong impulse to rescue injured virtue from the revengeful attacks of ministerial hirelings, urge me on, I should have submitted to the misfortune with calm resignation, and silently regretted his death with the patience of philosophy, as the common lot of human nature; such were my feelings for the loss of my departed friend; but so implacable is the rage of his oppressors, that it pursues him even beyond the grave. They continue to libel a man whom they could not corrupt, and conscious of their injustice and barbarity,

towards him, basely and cowardly endeavour to avert censure from themselves, by reflecting obloquy on the memory of one who can no longer defend himself. He has fallen a martyr to cruel and sanguinary laws, or at least to the merciless sentence of lawyers;—but the veil of prejudice is about to be removed, and posterity will judge between them. There lies a tribunal whence there can be no appeal, and where there will be neither threats nor promises to pervert the judgment.

Lord George, the youngest son of Cosmo, late Duke of Gordon, was born in Upper Grosvenor Street, London, on the 26th of December, 1751, a few months after the death of his father. His mother, who was sister to the present Earl of Aberdeen, retired, soon after his birth, to the North of Scotland, where he received the rudiments of his education, and from thence he was removed to Eaton, to complete his studies. During his stay at school, he gave many proofs of a rising genius, and gained the good opinion of his master, and the affection of his companions.

Tis a melancholy truth, that the nobility of every country eternally violate the laws of nature to support aristocratic pride, thereby sacrificing the interest of the younger children: and this prejudice has been *particularly* fatal to North Britain. It has caused that great inequality of property, and that blind attachment to *Chiefs* and *Leaders*, which disgrace the eighteenth century. It has degraded humanity, and sunk us beneath the level of the brute creation; but like every other unnatural system it will finally produce effects contrary to its original destination; from injustice and oppression, harmony and order will arise; and from tyranny and usurp-

ation, will spring liberty and equality. Truth like a rapid torrent, increases as it rolls along—the Despots of the Earth perceive the change, they dread their fate and tremble.

To keep up a tyrannical government, whose principle had been conquest, which had spread calamity and destruction over the European world, amongst an innumerable variety of unjust laws, fatal to the interests of us all, it was found necessary to cherish the infernal, unnatural principle of primogeniture, to bequeath the landed property to the eldest son, who, unwilling to distribute the smallest part of his own monopoly, is obliged to cringe at the levees of ministers and kings, in order to procure places and pensions for his younger brothers: thus they are compelled to flatter the elder, the elder the minister, and the minister the prince, which accounts for that vile servility to crowns, and tyranny over the poor which has ever characterised those whom the world most improperly call *great men*. The labourer, and the mechanic divide their substance equally amongst their children, but the pampered noble, to support the HONOUR of his family, gives life to a race of beggars, who, to avoid a prison must sacrifice their sentiments and independence, and become a burthen on their country.

As Lord George's mother and tutors belonged to this privileged cast, it is so much the more meritorious in him to have avoided their prejudices. Educated in all the luxury and profligate extravagance of a court, and accustomed to be treated upon an equality with his brother, he was at once launched out into the world, with an annuity of 500*l*. whilst the Duke possesses more than 20,000*l*. a year. During his infancy the Duchess married the present General Morris, then a subaltern in the army, but,

in consequence of the Gordon interest, soon after placed at the head of a regiment; upon nominating the officers, the late king, who was Lord George's god-father, appointed him an Ensign whilst in petticoats: (just and meritorious promotion!) thus to indulge an overgrown family, a child in leading strings is at once *dubbed* an officer, the hard earnings of the poor are prodigally squandered to gratify his premature passions, and the brave soldier, covered with scars, in consequence of the *noble infant's* early commission, is obliged to submit to his orders; it is thus that merit is rewarded in Great Britain, and this is one of the excellencies emanating from that glorious Constitution, which the sapient *oracular* Judge Ashurst holds up as the mirror of perfection, and the Phænix of surrounding nations. The family however judging it *impolitic* to have two sons in the army, lest it should be too great an encroachment, altered the ROYAL plan, and without consulting his Lordship's inclination, got him appointed a midshipman, before he had a will of his own.

Soon after this appointment, his father in law went out with his regiment to America, and, as the ship to which Lord George belonged, was stationed on the American coast, he had an occasion of making the tour of that continent, and *there* he had an opportunity of indulging that natural predilection for equality, and simplicity of manners, which distinguished his subsequent life. It was impossible for a young man of a virtuous, ardent disposition, like his, to view contentment and cheerfulness around him, without admiring it, and impossible for him to admire it without attempting to inculcate the practice. He soon perceived that in proportion as one man is exalted, others are depressed, and that the reason why the majority are so wretched, is, because a few revel in luxury, while the many perish through want. The same happiness and

equality did not prevail in America, till after the glorious revolution, to prevent which, it was the stupid, wicked policy of Britain, as much as it now is to prevent the revolution in France; but priests and kings were baffled in their unlawful, barbarous purposes; Virtue and Liberty triumphed, and on the other side of the Atlantic, those vices and miseries which every where surround palaces and courts, are little known. *There*, man is rewarded in proportion to his talents and his virtues, taxes are few, hunger and want totally unknown.

From that happy land, where the sacred flame of Freedom, aided by reason, was making rapid progress every day, Lord George passed to the West Indies, and after visiting most of the other islands, resided about six months in Jamaica. Enthusiastically fond of freedom, he soon became disgusted with the innumerable scenes of barbarity which every where presented themselves; he saw with disgust, and he felt with abhorrence the bloody treatment of the Negroes, and resolved to exert all his power and abilities in order to improve their condition. A feeling mind could not behold, without indignant emotions, the doating wife separated from her affectionate husband, and delivered up to the brutal rage of an European monster, merely because she had the misfortune to please;—youth, in all the bloom of innocence, torn from the paternal embrace, and invoking death as the only relief—and all this to support usurpers and monopolists with a long list of all grasping miscreants, the servile tools of a wicked government, who, after being covered with crimes in the old world, obtain a patent to practise them in the new. This system of vice and corruption violates every law of nature: consisting in a corporation of licenced butchers, dealing in human flesh, by their example and influence, con-

taminating our morals, and disgracing the character of human nature.

Before the commencement of the American war Lord George had risen to the rank of Lieutenant, and, by a humane conduct and obliging disposition, had acquired great popularity among the seamen. *He was the sailors' friend.*—But what procured him the esteem of the Navy, produced a contrary effect at the Admiralty, where, instead of humanity, and manly independence, the cruelest discipline, and a fawning sycophancy to those in power, were the surest passports to preferment. Partly from a disagreement with Lord Sandwich, then at the head of the Admiralty, and partly from a resolution never to imbrue his hands in the blood of men struggling for freedom, he resigned his commission; trampled his cockade under foot, and retired in disgust to his native Country. Soon after his quitting the service he made the tour of Scotland, and passed a summer in the Hebrides, not in collecting shells, or in measuring mountains, but in associating with the people, and making comparisons between man in a rude, and man in a civilized state. He wore their dress, talked their language, enquired into their wrongs, and by his gentle manners and attachment to their rural mode of life, became a great favourite with the Highlanders. He was then in the bloom of youth, fond of music and dancing, of a modest, unassuming demeanour, and his actions were uniformly regulated by the strictest rules of propriety. Few visitants were ever received with more attention in the Highlands, none were ever more beloved; the natives were wont to thank heaven for a man, who had resolution to oppose the usurpations of the crown, and fortitude to resist the vices of the age.

In the year 1774 he was advised to obtain a seat in Par-

liament, and would have been returned from Scotland, but owing to some political arrangements which had taken place in the Scotch Boroughs, he declined the Election, and was chosen to represent the Borough of Luggershall, tho' he had never seen one of the Electors. This predilection in his favour did not arise from any good opinion they might have had of his morals or abilities, for their faculties are so stupified by the immoderate quantity of animal food and spirituous liquors, with which they indulge themselves, that scarce an idea of liberty is to be found in a corporation, but it was owing to that infamous habitual practice of selling their votes to the highest bidder, that he was elected. The privilege of appointing the Legislature being thus unjustly placed in the hands of a few, the Minister who can extort as many taxes as he pleases, constantly keeps a majority in pay—the interest of the people is rarely or never consulted, they are always duped, their own money is used as an engine in forging their chains; and if they talk of reform, or inveigh against corruption, out comes a firebrand proclamation, charging them with disloyalty and sedition. Spies and Informers are let loose upon them as so many ferocious beasts, and imprisonment, pillory, and transportation succeed. This picture is not exaggerated, the times alas! are the best proof of what I say, our situation becomes more and more gloomy every day, nor is there a ray of hope, till the people re-assume their original importance, and insist on their right to fair and equal representation. Unfortunately, since the revolution of 1688, which may be said to have been stifled in its cradle, Great Britain has been cruelly distracted by two factions, commonly called Whigs and Tories, or the Opposition and Ministry, both of them equally indifferent about the happiness of the people; both equally anxious for personal power and emolument.

The Ministry continually inroaching upon the liberties of the citizens, increasing the taxes and defending their own corruptions by delusive pretexts of state policy ;— Whilst the Opposition are eternally bawling about liberty ; but alas ! liberty is with them an empty sound—their sole object being to procure places and pensions, to get possession of the spoil : Hence a spirited writer has justly observed, that “ the lapse of more than a century, and the “ accumulation of national grievances, have at length “ opened the eyes of a deluded people ; they perceive “ that justice is not to be expected from either party ; “ that the whole of the contest is, which of two parties “ of public swindlers shall engross the *whole* of the plunder to itself.”* It is customary for young men who are not in the pay of administration to range themselves immediately under the banners of the opposition, but Lord George had too much foresight not to perceive their insidious designs, and too much integrity to be actuated by mercenary or ambitious motives. Conscious that reform can originate solely in the people, feeling the impossibility that a corrupt body should ever reform itself, he occupied a middle space and opposed both with equal courage and perseverance.

To use his own language, “ In the House of Commons he had every day to reply, first to Lord North and “ the Ministerial party ; and then to Mr. Fox and Mr. “ Burke, who used in those days to make a great deal of “ noise in favour of petitions for the redress of grievances. I always doubted, continued he, their sincerity “ in those windy harangues. I thought they were no “ real friends to the people. I suspected all along that “ they were only making horses of Mr. Wyvill and the

* *Yerke's Letter to Frost.*

“Yorkshiresmen to ride into office upon, and to compass the winning-posts of the political race ground.” This line of conduct excited surprise both in the people, to whom it was new, and in those shallow Politicians who are dazzled with high-sounding names, and fine turned periods. It was above their comprehension, and will never be sufficiently estimated till the reign of party is at an end. Surprised by such conduct, the people were accustomed to say, that “there were three parties in the country, whilst he had a seat in Parliament, viz. the Ministry, the Opposition, and Lord George Gordon.”—When the Cabinet of St. James declared war against America, a war which like the present has sullied the character of Britons, and which they were obliged to abandon with disgrace, after incurring a debt which we cannot discharge, and taxes which we are impoverished to pay, Lord George opposed them with a firmness which does honour to his memory; he uniformly deprecated a system of blood and compared his Majesty’s Council to “plague, pestilence and *starvation*.”

In the year 1778, when the British troops were hard pressed by the Americans, and when it had been repeatedly proved that the sons of freedom were an over-match for mercenary soldiers, who are prevailed on to butcher their fellow creatures for four-pence a day, government, not from a liberality of sentiment or a tolerating spirit, but from the hopes of strengthening their party, and as a reward for their attachment to arbitrary power, proposed to the leaders of the Catholics to repeal the statutes enacted against them; provided they would contribute to support the American war by entering into the fleets and armies.—This proposal was embraced with enthusiasm;—an address was immediately presented to the King with an offer of their lives and fortunes. They consequently

met with a most gracious reception at Court; the Bill for repealing the penal statutes in force against them, was hurried through the House—the Army and Navy found new supplies, and the Cabinet new vigour for prosecuting an unhappy civil war.

It has ever been our opinion that religion when supported by the state is inconsistent with liberty, the degree of danger being just in proportion to the influence of the Clergy, for “turn a christian society into an established church, and it is no longer a voluntary assembly for the worship of God; it is a powerful corporation, full of such sentiments, and passions, as usually distinguish those bodies; a dread of innovation, an attachment to abuses, a propensity to tyranny and oppression.—To this alliance of christianity with civil power, is it owing that ecclesiastical history presents a chaos of crimes.”* But of all establishments none have been more fatal to the human species than the church of Rome—even Robertson, a keen advocate for monarchical government, and of course no enemy to churches, allows, that it is “a church which its warmest friends must admit, professes many doctrines which are a contradiction to reason and a scandal to religion—A church, whose fundamental principles prepare and break the mind, for political servitude—A religion whose very spirit, as well as practice, is persecuting, sanguinary and encroaching.”†

To whatever cause however we attribute the relaxation of severity in government towards the English Catholics, at the time above mentioned, the nation was greatly alarmed; particularly the Presbyterians, who whatever enthusiastic religious notions they may entertain, have uniformly opposed the usurpations of the church. It was by men

* *Hall on the Freedom of the Press.* † *Robertson's History of Scotland.*

of this persuasion that the Stuarts were expelled from Great Britain, a certain portion of our rights regained, and something, similar to a government of law, established, upon the ruins of despotism ; but since the restoration, they have been suspected of republicanism, the simplicity of their manners openly ridiculed, and their remonstrances treated with contempt. They could not conceive why any partiality should be shewn to the advocates of passive obedience, in preference to the Dissenters, and they consulted Lord George who had been strictly educated in the doctrines of Calvinism. Numerous associations were immediately formed throughout North Britain, to check the catholic influence beyond the Tweed. Lord George was appointed their President, and nothing but petitions and associations were to be seen from John o'Groat's to Berwick. Government thought proper to receive them with a studied neglect, and Parliament passed from their petitions to the order of the day.

The Scotch have long been a much injured people. Their music, which is all of the melancholy kind, their plaintive tone of voice, their thoughtful countenances, are undeniable proofs of the assertion. The Union may be said to have sealed their political death : for tho' a common interest ought to unite the whole Island, yet no such thing has yet taken place. It was an Union framed and contrived by a few unprincipled Nobles, without the consent of the people, and, as might be expected was well calculated to please and promote the interested views of the great, but to render the poor more miserable. Nevertheless, they are in general a hardy race of men, better educated than any nation in Europe, and tho' not sufficiently enlightened to perceive, or not bold enough to acknowledge the cause of their misfortunes, and to pursue the

means of procuring redress, yet they differ from the English in this. Placemen and Pensioners excepted, all agreeing that they are oppressed. Men under such circumstances, when their passions are roused into action, generally proceed with persevering courage. They remember the bloody executions of the Stuarts, and their imagination figured something more bloody still—When they understood that their petitions were slighted, they flew to arms, in the beginning of 1779, pulled down the chapels, and obtained by force what the government had refused to justice. The Ministry, conscious of their weakness, and afraid to drive a brave people to despair, did not venture to proceed farther, and upon application from Lord George assured them that the act would not be extended to North Britain. By this means, peace was restored to a distracted country, which always combines Popery with arbitrary power, and a general insurrection was prevented. When the English Dissenters, with their numerous adherents, saw, that the Scotch, by their unanimity, had been successful, they became more bold, formed societies, all over England, and the London Association sent the following letter to Lord George Gordon :

“ My Lord,

“ It was unanimously resolved, at a very numerous and
 “ respectable meeting of the Protestant Association, held
 “ this evening, that an immediate application should be
 “ made to your Lordship, requesting you to become the
 “ President of this Association.—When we reflect on that
 “ noble zeal for the Protestant interest, which has so eminently distinguished your Lordship’s parliamentary conduct, and on the happy success of the spirited opposition made by our Protestant brethren in Scotland against Popery, we are animated to hope that your Lordship
 “ will not refuse the Presidentship of the Protestant As-

" fociation in England.—Inclosed your Lordship will re-
 " ceive a copy of the Appeal, which we have published
 " to the people of Great Britain on this interesting and
 " important subject; and we cannot conceive any rea-
 " son as England and Scotland are united, why the Papists
 " should be entitled to greater privileges and favour in
 " England, than in the other part of the kingdom of
 " Great Britain.—Your Lordship being President of the
 " numerous Societies for supporting the Protestant inte-
 " rest in Scotland, we hope, that under your Lordship's
 " auspices, as President of the united Associations of
 " England and Scotland, such wise and timely measures
 " might be adopted, as would tend to preserve our civil
 " and religious liberties from the incroachments of Po-
 " pery; and form a national bulwark for the defence of
 " the Protestant succession in the illustrious House of
 " Hanover.

" I am, my Lord,

" with the greatest respect, your Lordship's

" very humble Servant,

" JAMES FISHER, SEC."

London, Nov. 12, 1779.

At the next general meeting the following answer was returned by Lord George:

" To Mr. JAMES FISHER,

" Secretary to the Protestant Association,

" Sir,

" I had the honor to receive your letter of the 12th,
 " communicating to me the unanimous request of the Pro-
 " testant Association to become their President, and en-
 " closing a copy of their Appeal to the People of Great
 " Britain, in consequence of the encouragement lately gi-
 " ven by Parliament to Popery in England.—I have not

“ the vanity to imagine myself sufficiently qualified to sup-
 “ port the dignity of so exalted a station as President; but
 “ you may assure the gentlemen of the Association that
 “ they may command my utmost exertions for the Protec-
 “ tant Interest, till a more able and deserving President is
 “ pointed out.—The Popish Act being introduced in a
 “ thin house, at the end of a session, and passed without a
 “ public debate, the people of England had certainly no
 “ fair opportunity given them to discover its dangerous
 “ tendency—the mischief was done before their eyes were
 “ opened. It was not so with Scotland—Parliament did
 “ not venture to take such liberty with the people of that
 “ country. When the Scotch were apprised of the de-
 “ signs of government, the evil tendency of a Popish Act
 “ was discerned by all ranks of people. Their opposition
 “ to it was firm, spirited, and constitutional. Their suc-
 “ cess too was complete, for those who had undertaken to
 “ introduce the Popish Act into Scotland, abandoned their
 “ cause with shame and disgrace. As the appeal from the
 “ Association gives no account of the private proceedings
 “ of government with the Papists, before their act was
 “ brought into Parliament, I think it a duty I owe the
 “ public to submit to their consideration the following as-
 “ sertions, which appear in the first edition of the Memo-
 “ rial of the Roman Catholics, printed and sold by J. P.
 “ Cochlan, Duke-Street, Grosvenor-Square: viz,

“ First, That one of his majesty’s judges in Scotland,
 “ previous to any application from the Papists for a relax-
 “ ation of the penal laws, made an overture to Bishop
 “ Hay, head of the Roman Catholic Clergy in Edinburgh,
 “ to know the sentiments of the Papists in Scotland with
 “ respect to the American war. Secondly, That the Pa-
 “ pists in Scotland embraced that opportunity with joy, to
 “ declare their attachment to their king, and their readi-

nefs to ferve both with their lives and fortunes. Third-
 ly, That after Bifhop Hay's letter on that fubject was
 communicated to government, the affair was made
 known to the Englifh Papifts. Fourthly, That their
 fentiments being the fame with the Papifts in Scotland,
 they entered into the fame views. Fifthly, That an
 affectionate addrefs was prefented to his Majefty, in the
 name of the whole, and approved of by his majefty.
 Sixthly, That fo encouraged, the Englifh Papifts appli-
 ed to Parliament for a relaxation of fome of the penal
 ftatutes. Seventhly, That the repeal granted by Parlia-
 ment was an unlooked for event. Eighthly, That the
 repeal in England had folely originated from the Scotch
 Papifts. Ninthly, That his Majefty's officers had given
 the Scotch Papifts repeated affurances, both in public
 and private, that whatever was then granted to the En-
 glifh Papifts, fhould, the very next feflion of parliament,
 be extended to Scotland.—Thefe, and other assertions,
 ftated in the fame Memorial, alarmed me exceedingly;
 but none more fo, than to fee with what eagernels and
 joy the Papifts were willing to contribute their mite in
 fupport of an unhappy civil war, againft the Proteftants
 in America. It was very natural and politic in Bifhop
 Hay and the Popifh Clergy, to take every poffible advan-
 tage of the encouragement they met with, to propagate
 the doctrines of their religion; but it will be very diffi-
 cult to juftify the treatment which the Scotch Catholics
 afterwards met with from Government; for they cer-
 tainly were entitled to equal favour with the Englifh
 Papifts, as the repeal of the penal laws in England had
 folely originated from the fecret negociation of the
 treaty with the Scotch Judge.

"I have every reafon to hope the grand objects of our
 Association will be obtained; for I believe the Petitions

“ of the Protestants throughout England will be very nu-
“ merous and spirited, as soon as your Appeal is generally
“ dispersed; but, if the Association are under any appre-
“ hensions of the Petitions of the English being neglected
“ by Parliament, I can take the liberty of soliciting a com-
“ peerance of the people of Scotland, whose support
“ might prove of effectual service to the cause at the pre-
“ sent crisis.—I trust that coolness and temper in the
“ proceedings of the Association will soon demonstrate to
“ the Roman Catholics that we are far from being possess-
“ ed of a persecuting disposition; and I hope the atten-
“ tion of Parliament to the Petitions of Englishmen will
“ be so very respectful and prudent, as not to raise the
“ apprehensions of the lower classes of the people. Had
“ the addresses of the provincial Synods in Scotland been
“ duly respected, and attended to, the houses and chapels
“ of the Scotch Papists would never have suffered by the
“ resentment of an enraged populace.—The Roman Catho-
“ lics must know as well as we do, that Popery when en-
“ couraged by Government, has always been dangerous to
“ the liberties of the people; and since they themselves
“ have been so candid in their memorial as to acknowledge
“ that the repeal of the penal laws against them was an un-
“ looked for event, and that their application to Parlia-
“ ment was in consequence of the encouragement they
“ met with, and not from any severe execution of the
“ penal laws, I really think they cannot in their consci-
“ ences blame the Protestants in applying to Parliament
“ for a complete restoration of those statutes which pre-
“ served their liberties from the last revolution to the pre-
“ sent ill-omened era.—It will give me great happiness, in
“ compliance with your request, to unite the Associations
“ of England and Scotland, and to obtain, by our constitu-
“ tional exertions, the repeal of a Popish Act, so pernicious

ous in its tendency to the civil and religious liberties
of these kingdoms.

“ I am, Sir, with the greatest respect,

“ your most obedient and humble Servant,

Wellbeck-Street, Nov. 19.

“ G. GORDON.”

Soon after the receipt of this answer, they drew up a petition to Parliament, and the President, at the head of the committee, waited upon Lord North requesting him to present and support it: which the latter declining, it was resolved that Lord George should immediately apply to the Scotch for assistance, and that the petition should lie open for signatures. In the mean time, they took care to strengthen their party by awakening the passions of the people and opening a correspondence with all the populous towns in Great Britain and Ireland. Government, as well as the Catholics were alarmed: and Lord Petre in the name of the latter, endeavoured to gain over Lord George to his cause, by assuring him, “ that the Petitioners were a mean set of people: that it was owing to him that they had become of consequence: that if he would withdraw, they would soon dwindle away: that his abilities and industry would give weight to any party: that the Roman Catholics had a great regard for him and wished him to be informed on the subject; and that it had been determined at a late consultation in Paris, that they were safe in taking the new oath of allegiance:” and intreated him, “ if he would not withdraw from the Association, to use his influence to postpone presenting the petitions, and not to move for a repeal of the bill for five years;—and then, at that period, to move for a repeal provided he thought they had made an improper use of it.” To which Lord George replied, “ that however mean

* Letter from Lord George to the Speaker of the House of Commons.

those concerned in the Protestant Associations might appear to his Lordship, he believed there were many among them, who acted from principle, as he did himself; and that though he had been misinformed respecting his abilities, which were but moderate, and could be of little use to any party, yet he could assure him, that there were men of the first abilities in Europe amongst them—That his withdrawing from the English Protestants, (which he would not do) might be of no service to his Lordship's views; for heated as mens minds were upon the subject, there would probably spring up some Wat Tyler, or a Massanello, who would not have patience with government; and might very possibly chuse, from motives of ambition, to embroil the nation in a civil war. That he was alarmed at the resolution of the Council at Paris, which could not be accounted for otherwise than by dispensation from the Pope—That it was probable he might not be in Parliament at the end of five years, and that he was indispenfibly bound to do his duty whilst he had a feat therein." The conversation lasted several hours, and when Lord Petre, finding that nothing could make him deviate from what he thought was right, said, in retiring, that "*he was afraid riots might happen on presenting the Petition.*"

Soon after this interview with Lord Petre, Lord George waited upon Mr. Burke, with whom he was then intimately acquainted, and whom he considered as the parliamentary agent of the Roman Catholics; but when Mr. Burke understood that Lord Petre's negociation was broke off, the friendship of many years was sacrificed in an instant, and no familiarity ever after subsisted between them.

Matters were now drawing to a crisis. All the great towns sent deputations to London: the people expected something decisive to happen, and thought liberty was about

to be established on a solid basis, or to receive its death blow.

Lord George went to St. James's, and after procuring an audience with his Majesty, bolted the door very deliberately, and in a solemn tone reminded him, that "the house of Stuart had been banished from the Throne for encouraging Popery and arbitrary power; and requested that he would order his ministers to support the Protestant Petitions." The King replied, "I have taken no part in the late bill; Parliament did it." Lord George desired him to recollect "that he *had* taken a part, and a very capital part too, by giving his royal assent to it:" and added, "it would appear that the private correspondence between one of his Majesty's Judges and the popish Bishop, had been carried on, for the diabolical purpose of of arming the Papists against the Colonies in America;—and not from any enlightened views of the legislature, as was falsely and basely trumpeted forth by the orators in both houses of Parliament, and by the Parsons in their pulpits." His Majesty declared, that "he had not been privy to any secret transaction of that nature." Lord George mentioned the Judge's name, and said "the judges are the mirror by which the King's image is reflected." The King evaded giving a direct answer, said "he was a Protestant," and enquired particularly respecting his relations in Scotland. Lord George thanked the King, and observed, as "he had no request to make, nor any favor to ask for himself, he hoped his Majesty would excuse him for returning to the question, which he had not answered, viz. whether he would or would not direct his confidential servants, to support the Petition?" The King replied, "I am no way pledged in the business." Lord George asked, "if from that expression he was to understand, that he declined speaking to Lord North on the subject?" The King bow-

ed his assent several times without speaking a word, on which Lord George retired from the Cabinet. Several other interviews took place, but nothing material was affected. His integrity was assailed in various ways, bribes, threats and promises were alternately made use of; and Lord North, a few days prior to the riots, waited upon him in Welbeck-Street, and, after much courtly address, said "he had a message to communicate from his Majesty," and proposed his acceptance of a "large sum of money, and a leading situation in parliament, provided he would desert the Associations." Lord George replied, that "he was much obliged to his Majesty for his *gracious* intention, but that he would neither accept of a sum of money, nor have any connection with Government, whilst Lord North was Minister, or such arbitrary measures were pursued."

Signatures to the petition were at this period multiplying very fast, the people were greatly dissatisfied, and upon the 29th of May it was almost unanimously resolved that they should meet in a body in St. George's Fields. Upon the 2d of June, a vast crowd of people assembled, dressed in their best cloths, with blue cockades and colours flying, and the words "NO POPERY" inscribed on their hats. Lord George arranged them in four divisions and took up his station in the centre of the Scotch, who were distinguished by martial music: and after haranguing them and recommending good order and firmness, he repaired to the House of Commons, followed by more than Sixty-Thousand men. The whole city was amazed, the house tops were covered with spectators and every person waited the event with anxious expectation. They arrived in good order at the house, and Lord George moved to have the bill repealed immediately, and was seconded by Alderman Bull supported by several other members. Mr. Burke

and the ministry endeavoured to reflect odium upon the Petitioners, by representing them as "the refuse of the people, and a contemptible minority." To which Lord George replied, that "they were sufficiently numerous to line the way from *St. James's to Whitehall*," The Commons, perceiving themselves thus besieged, wished to avoid the disgrace of being forced, and proposed to adjourn the House, but Lord George pressed them to proceed. The people became clamorous, vociferating "repeal, repeal," upon which Lord George went to the gallery that looks into the lobby and addressed them:—read the Coronation Oath, and declared "he was of opinion that his Majesty had violated it, and was in the same predicament with James II. after the abdication,"—entreated them to be firm, mentioned the conduct of the Scotch, and informed them that "the ministry proposed calling on the military, but it was too rash a step to be hazarded, besides the military were generally disaffected."

In the mean time, a croud of vagabonds mingled themselves with the peaceable citizens, treated the members very roughly, and insulted the peers. The bishops had their hats and wigs pulled off, and several, after being dragged from their carriages, with difficulty saved their lives. The populace called upon Lord George to know whether they should go home; but he cautiously waved the question, and told them that "probably the sessions would soon break up and their petition be lost for ever."—At length the guards arrived; when the petitioners retired peaceably, tho' dissatisfied, and the senate was relieved from a truly perilous situation. But the mob soon after assembled in various parts of the town, and demolished the catholic chapels, after burning every thing they contained. For many days, a dreadful vengeance threatened the guilty city, the magistrates, as is usual in times of danger,

were feeble and inactive, and every thing was at the disposal of force; the great Law-Lords who had been long used to pronounce the most cruel sentences on their unfortunate fellow creatures, were menaced with just retribution, and those obnoxious to the people, were obliged to consult their safety in flight, and a certain *great Personage* is said to have prepared for quitting England. All the prisons were pulled down and their inhabitants set at liberty, Lord George was carried in triumph by the multitude, and nothing presented itself to the astonished spectator but devouring flames. It is certain, that *he*, who afterwards dragged a painful existence, in a loathsome Gaol, might have then overturned the government, and founded a constitution agreeable to the wishes and true interest of the people—a hundred thousand men were ready to execute his orders, and ministers trembled for their personal safety. The unprincipled lawless banditti, who commenced the riots, were miscreants set on foot by French agents for at that time, France was governed by a perfidious king. Lord George was an enemy to plunder and devastation, he was shocked with the violence of their proceedings; and those excesses which government afterwards laid to his charge, undoubtedly saved them from destruction; for the timorous and those unaccustomed to revolutionary movements, withdrew, whilst administration had time to recover from their panic, and to rally their desponding forces. I have already observed that the rioters proceeded from excess to excess, without order or design, nor were the Ministry anxious to stop them in the beginning—they hate all popular assemblies, and hoped to prevent them in future by disgusting the people with their proceedings. They succeeded in part, and since the year 1780 they have governed as they please,—but they had nearly carried their deception too far, for before the con-

elusion, something more serious than individual resentment was intended. It is supposed that whoever is master of the bank and the tower, will soon become master of the city, and whoever is master of the city will soon be master of Great Britain ; with this belief, a plan was laid to seize them both, and to bring the matter at once to a crisis. But before this daring project could be put in execution, the military, seconded by the militia, fired upon the people, a dreadful carnage ensued ; they were obliged to yield to superior force and their hopes were entirely frustrated.

Lord George was in consequence of this defeat, immediately arrested and conveyed to the tower, by a large detachment of horse, under a charge of high treason. The Secretary to the Association was likewise taken up, but in consequence of information which he gave, he was soon after discharged, and is suspected to have obtained even *something more* than his liberty. The Committee fled, or remained inactive and peace was restored to the city, whilst *He* suffered a rigorous imprisonment for eight months, constantly guarded by men with drawn swords—all his letters were opened and even pen ink and paper were denied him. For several months none of his friends could be admitted to him, without an order from the Secretary of State, and afterwards it was necessary to obtain permission from the Governor of the tower ; but notwithstanding the injunctions of the cabinet, he found means to elude their vigilance. A gentleman in the tower, whom it is not safe to name, offered him his service, and was the faithful bearer of his correspondence. By him he learnt that a majority of the English were interested in his fate, and that the Scots were unanimous in his favour. His connections were watched with an inquisitorial eye, several were confined for corresponding with him, before

they supposed it to be dangerous, and among the rest a celebrated Republican at Dundee, where the tree of liberty has been lately planted. After some months confinement, they began to relax a little from their rigour and he was allowed to take an airing on the ramparts every day.—In his walk he happened to fall in with Citizen Laurens who had been president of the Congress in America, and who, on his way to Holland, in quality of Minister Plenipotentiary had been taken prisoner by the English—A conversation on the state of public affairs immediately took place. The circumstance reached St. James's and Laurens was deprived of the little liberty he before enjoyed. A gloomy silence had succeeded Lord George's imprisonment, whilst suspicion and anxiety were visible in every countenance. The politics of both hemispheres depended on his acquittal, and Britain was more agitated about his fate, than regenerated France has lately been about the lives of his cruel persecutors, the perjured Louis, or the abandoned Antoinette.

At length the 5th of February arrived, when he was conveyed from the Tower to the Court of King's Bench. The streets were lined with Coaches and the crowd was immense. Kenyon and Erskine were his principal counsel. He entered the Hall elegantly and appropriately dressed in a suit of black velvet: his deportment was firm and undaunted, and as a proof of the tranquillity of his mind, in challenging the Jury, he objected, with a pleasant smile to a rope maker, "because he was interested by profession." The trial continued during twenty hours, and much legal ability was displayed on both sides. Lord Mansfield in summoning up the evidence, *ingeniously* passed over what was most favourable to the Prisoner, when Lord George perceiving the *artifice* immediately reprimanded him. The Jury withdrew and in about half an hour returned with a verdict—NOT GUILTY,

There is reason to believe that administration were displeased with the verdict; for tho' it would have been dangerous to have punished him, for what the people thought a virtue, yet it would have gratified their vanity to have sent him a pardon, and to have appeared actuated by humanity in the opinion of those who were unacquainted with the real motives of their actions: Be that as it may universal joy succeeded, expresses were sent to the most distant parts of the nation, and illuminations and bonfires announced the joyful news. Wherever he went the ringing of bells announced his arrival, and deputations came to meet him with the freedom of their cities. His correspondence extended over every quarter of the Globe, and few plans of reform were undertaken without his advice. The Protestant Association unanimously approved his conduct, and in testimony of the regard and respect in which they held him, I shall subjoin their address upon his acquittal.

To the Right Hon. LORD GEORGE GORDON:

THE ADDRESS OF
THE PROTESTANT ASSOCIATION.

My Lord,

“ Called upon by the dictates of duty and gratitude,
“ and in justice towards ourselves, and to the sentiments
“ of affectionate attachment, and unfeigned veneration,
“ which fill the hearts of the whole body of the Protestant
“ Association; it is with inexpressible pleasure, that we
“ present to your Lordship our most sincere and cordial
“ congratulations, upon the happy issue of your important trial.

“ We magnify the divine goodness, which enabled you
“ to meet your trial with such manly fortitude and intre-

“pidity, and to go through it with such astonishing calm-
 “ness and composure of mind, and such amazing attention
 “and recollection, as appeared in the last period of that
 “affecting scene.

“Having, your Lordship may be assured, shared deeply
 “in all your pains and anxieties, we now rejoice in the
 “unshaken virtue of an honest and intelligent Jury of
 “Englishmen, who put an end to the hardships of your
 “Lordship’s confinement, and delivered you from all the
 “dangers of a prosecution, terrible to the purest innocence.

“The joy we feel derives a particular relish from this,
 “that it is not confined to us, or to the body which we
 “represent; but is universal among all ranks and orders
 “of people. The general satisfaction which your Lord-
 “ship’s honourable acquittal has given, is as remarkable as
 “the visible anxiety for your safety, which manifested it-
 “self in every place while your life was in jeopardy. No-
 “thing but prudent discretion, and a well-judged respect
 “for your Lordship, prevailed upon your friends to abstain
 “from the usual public demonstrations of joy; that they
 “might not, in this instance, be confounded with the un-
 “ruly effects of a turbulent licentiousness, which has too
 “often affronted decency, and interrupted the quiet of
 “these cities, upon occasions of pretended popularity, to
 “which the present bears no resemblance.

“We were witnesses to your Lordship’s uniform, order-
 “ly, loyal, and constitutional deportment, in the charac-
 “ter by which, in condescension to our request, you be-
 “came related to the Protestant Association, when you
 “nobly stood forth in the Protestant cause, and put your-
 “self at our head. We had abundant proofs not only

“ among ourselves, but in the whole tenor of your Lord-
 “ ship’s public conduct, of an uncorrupt integrity of heart
 “ and purity of intentions. We perceived among the
 “ leading features of your character, such a strict regard
 “ to the bonds of conscience, and the obligations of virtue,
 “ morality, and religion, as at this day makes an honour-
 “ able distinction in your superior rank and station of life.
 “ We were fully persuaded, by every thing that fell under
 “ our observation, of your Lordship’s steady regard for the
 “ true interest and welfare of your country, of your firm
 “ attachment to the principles of the glorious Revolution
 “ and our happy constitution, of your zeal for the Protec-
 “ tant interest, and the Protestant succession to the Crown
 “ in the illustrious family upon the Throne ; which, when
 “ maintained in that inseparable union, that the fundamen-
 “ tal laws of the kingdom have joined them, we consider,
 “ as our fathers before us did, to be, under God, the great
 “ bulwark of the civil and religious rights and liberties of
 “ these nations.

“ With such impressions upon our minds, we could not
 “ but be, and we always were confident of your Lordship’s
 “ innocence ; and that no accusation that could be brought
 “ against you, would be supported with truth and fair
 “ evidence.

“ We have undoubted proof that the late horrible out-
 “ rages, in the guilt of which it has been unjustly attempt-
 “ ed to involve your Lordship, were begun by the Papists,
 “ to throw an odium on the Protestant Association: and
 “ we doubt not but they were consummated, in the dread-
 “ ful extent of devastation, to which they proceeded, by
 “ lurking incendiaries, set on by the spies and emissaries of
 “ our national enemies. It is to us a great comfort, that
 “ not one Protestant Petitioner of forty four thousand, was

“ apprehended, tried, convicted, executed, or killed among
 “ the rioters ; while under every one of these predica-
 “ ments Papists are to be found. So far God, in his pro-
 “ vidence, appeared to wipe away all suspicion from the
 “ Protestant Association, and to plead your Lordship’s
 “ cause, by a striking and almost miraculous fact of pub-
 “ lic notoriety.

“ We are happy in the reflection, that nothing in our
 “ power was omitted to turn to effect the means of sup-
 “ porting the justice of your Lordship’s case. In this we
 “ acted from the heart. We owed it to your Lordship,
 “ to ourselves, and to the honour of the cause we are en-
 “ gaged in. We also think ourselves greatly obliged to
 “ those who had the more immediate charge of your de-
 “ fence, for their zeal and assiduity ; and to the many
 “ honourable and worthy persons, of every rank and sta-
 “ tion, who, from a regard to justice and humanity, ge-
 “ nerously and voluntarily stood forth, to give information
 “ and evidence of facts material to your justification ; a
 “ multitude of which came to light in a very surprising
 “ manner.

“ But to God himself we ascribe all the glory of your
 “ Lordship’s deliverance ; and we hope we may, without
 “ enthusiasm, consider it as a signal mark of his protection
 “ and appearance for the cause of truth, and a gracious
 “ answer to the many fervent prayers which were put up
 “ in behalf of your Lordship, and are now succeeded by
 “ thanksgivings and praises, for the great salvation the Al-
 “ mighty has wrought for you by his own hand.

“ The same gracious God who covered your head in
 “ the day of danger, is able amply to repay whatever is
 “ done or suffered in his service. We trust your Lord-
 “ ship will never think you can serve a better master. It

“is our earnest wish that he may honour you to be an
 “eminent instrument in his hand, of advancing his cause
 “and interest in the world—of promoting the real advan-
 “tage of your country—and the general happiness of
 “mankind. Encouraged by the promising pledges of
 “your early years, we please ourselves with the flattering
 “expectation, that your Lordship will ever esteem it the
 “noblest ambition, the truest greatness, and the brightest
 “character, to shine as a good man, a good citizen, a sin-
 “cere christian, and a real patriot.

“Pardon us, my Lord, if we interest ourselves, in the
 “warmest manner, in your Lordship’s future happiness
 “and honor. We can with the most solemn truth say
 ““the vows of God are upon us” on your account; and
 “we shall ever “render praises to him, because he has
 “delivered your soul from death:” Our confidence also
 “is, that he will at all times “deliver your feet from fal-
 “ling,” that you may “walk before God in the light of
 “the living,” May the richest blessings of providence
 “and grace be your portion and inheritance! and may the
 “Divine Goodness never forsake your noble Family and
 “Relations, whose tender sympathy and affection have
 “been so anxiously employed, to soften your distress and
 “extricate you from danger! Let not any further service
 “we can do be unacceptable to your Lordship; and per-
 “mit us to assure you, that nothing shall be wanting in our
 “power, to alleviate your sufferings, or lighten your bur-
 “dens.

“By order of the Committee,

Lyons Inn, Feb. 17, 1781. “JOSHUA BANGS, Sec.”

To which his Lordship returned the following answer;

“Gentlemen,

“I have the liveliest sense of the Divine mercy, by

“ which I enjoy the happiness of meeting you again in
“ such agreeable Circumstances. Nothing can efface from
“ my mind the obligations I owe you for your steady
“ friendship, and the laborious service you so cheerfully
“ went through for my sake, when by my situation in Pri-
“ son, I was unable to do any thing for my own safety
“ and protection. I am also exceedingly sensible of the
“ humanity and zeal of all those who any ways co-ope-
“ rated with your exertions in my behalf.

“ I have great reason to be thankful to God for the sup-
“ port he afforded me during my long confinement, and
“ that *He* did not forsake me in the most awful moments
“ of my life.

“ Whatever the necessities of a prosecution such as I
“ have undergone, may have required from the Conduc-
“ tors of it, I persuade myself, that no one who knows
“ me can suspect, I had any concern in those execrable
“ doings with which it has been attempted to connect me.
“ None can regret or abhor them more than I do. Had
“ not the Court very harshly denied me the opportunity I
“ trusted to, and which I was informed could not be refu-
“ sed me, to say a word for my life, I should before that
“ upright and manly Jury, in whose hands it was, have
“ called the Great GOD to witness, that I was as innocent
“ as any of themselves of those disgraceful outrages, which
“ from my very heart I detest, and the idea of which,
“ shocks my principles as well as my feelings. Whoever
“ were the authors or promoters of such infernal plots, I
“ rejoice exceedingly, that the Protestant Association are
“ pure from the stain.

“ I highly value the favourable opinion you so obligingly
“ entertain of me; and the engaging manner in which you
“ take such an interest in my welfare, is an additional tie

“ upon me to pursue such a conduct as may not forfeit the
 “ esteem of any good man.

“ Accept, Gentlemen, of my warmest thanks for your
 “ affectionate congratulations. The good wishes you ex-
 “ press for my Family and Relations, to whose tender
 “ sympathy I am so much indebted, you may believe gives
 “ me particular pleasure.

“ There needs nothing more than my own experience,
 “ to give me the fullest confidence in your generous good
 “ will. I feel the weight of gratitude you lay upon me;
 “ and if any thing I have done, or suffered, can be a pledge
 “ for my future life, I hope you will never have cause to
 “ withdraw your regard, or repent of your kindness.

“ G. GORDON.”

Welbeck Street, Feb. 17 1781.

Few events in the annals of Britain have excited more attention than the riots of 1780, and perhaps none are involved in greater darkness. Many Advocates for reform, from a dread of anarchy and plunder, have decided too rashly, on the subject, and as the Newspapers are either in the pay of administration, or under the influence of factious Partizans, no pains have been spared to blacken his Character, and to expose him to popular contempt and hatred thro' the medium of prejudice. They in part succeeded, for an honest individual has no chance in contending with a phalanx of Placemen, Pensioners, and Expectants; secret service money is profusely scattered to calumniate virtue: And hence the true Patriot is often sacrificed to the joint efforts of malice and corruption.

On the fifth of September 1781, Lord George at the solicitation of a respectable body of the Livery of London was nominated a Candidate for the City, and the associati-

on to the number of four thousand promised him their interest and support: Instantly every Ministerial tool was in motion, bribes, threats; and promises were lavished in profusion—a meeting of Lord George's Friends were summoned at the Pauls Head Tavern Cateaton-street, into which Alderman Wooldridge and a number of *King and Constitution men* intruded themselves. The Alderman began an indecent harangue saying he “would frustrate all Lord George Gordon's business for that night;” and, assisted by his mercenaries, turned every thing into confusion, threw down the tables and candles and broke the glasses &c. Lord George, from motives of delicacy was absent: the Lord Mayor was sent for, but the riot was so great as induced his Friends to adjourn. Next morning the following note was received from the Lord Mayor.

“The Lord Mayor presents his Compliments to Lord George Gordon, and begs leave to assure his Lordship, that he heard, with infinite concern, that there was some disrespect shewn to Lord George at the meeting at the Pauls Head last night, by some persons who were in the interest of the Lord Mayor. Mr. Alderman Turner and another Gentleman waited on his Lordship and his Committee last night at the Pauls Head (and were there informed that his Lordship was gone) to express the Lord Mayor's disapprobation in the strongest terms of such improper conduct.

“Lord George as well as the Lord Mayor must be extremely sensible that great caution should be observed to refrain the indiscretion of some zealous friends.

“*Mansion House, Tuesday Morning.*

“Lord George will excuse the hurry in which this is wrote.”

Lord George immediately returned the following answer :

“ *My Lord,*

“ I have just now had the honour to receive your Lordship’s very obliging note, and assure your Lordship I am sorry you should feel the smallest concern at any thing that was said, last night at the Pauls Head, by persons whom you suppose in your interest.

“ I have had the honour to receive great civilities from your Lordship on different occasions : and I know your politeness and gentlemanlike manners too well, to suppose for an instant, that any thing disingenuous or unworthy could at all meet with your approbation.

“ As no apology was necessary from your Lordship, I have the pleasure to regard your Lordship’s note, as a fresh instance of your attention and general good wishes towards me.

“ I am sorry that Mr. Alderman Turner and another gentleman had the unnecessary trouble of waiting upon me, and the worthy Committee who are so kind as to conduct the business of my election. I agree with your Lordship, that it is my duty as President of the Protestant Association, as well as your Lordship’s duty as a Lord Mayor of the Protestant Metropolis, to observe the greatest caution, and to restrain indiscretion in ourselves as well as in others—I have the honor to be.

“ *My Lord*

“ Your Lordship’s most obedient and

“ Humble Servant

Welbeck-street, Tuesday morning. “ G. GORDON.”

The Committee made an appeal to the public and after stating the matter, as related above, concluded in these words :

" This, Gentlemen, is the simple unadorned fact ; no-
 " thing is exaggerated, nothing is set down in malice,
 " This appeal is made to you, that you may enquire who
 " were the authors, abettors, or instruments in this attack
 " on your sacred liberties. This you are called upon to do
 " immediately : this riot may be a prelude to a repetition
 " of the justly execrated business of Brentford.—Balf and
 " M^r Quirk may be still alive.

" Which of the candidates these riotous gentlemen are
 " friends to, it is your business to discover. The Lord
 " Mayor and his friends have disclaimed all connection
 " with them : and you have a right, and ought to demand
 " a clear and decided proof of innocence from one or the
 " other, for both cannot be innocent.

" The Man, who dared thus violate the laws of his
 " country, and insult the dearest liberties of his fellow
 " citizens, has but small pretensions to your suffrages, and
 " gives you every reason to expect, that he may prove a
 " destroyer, not a guardian of your dear bought privileges.

" But, gentlemen what must we think of the man, Lord
 " George Gordon, thus attacked ? His enemies tacitly
 " tell you, that they have not a single thing they can ob-
 " jeet against him.—To your judgments they would have
 " appealed, had they any accusations to have brought
 " against him. Happy for the man who is such a char-
 " acter, that the keen eye of envy can discover no failing !
 " happy ! happy ! will that city be, who has such a man
 " to represent them in Parliament !"

They who have attended to the late riots at Birming-
 ham, Cambridge, and Manchester, &c. will have little dif-
 ficulty in deciding who were the instigators of the distur-
 bance in Cateaton-street. Ministerial hirelings are per-
 fectly versed in the arts of *loyalty* ; well knowing the pro-

per moments for insulting such peaceable and well disposed citizens as act inimically to their views. These heroes arrogantly boast their ebullitions of *loyalty*, with the cry of *King and Constitution*, and down with *Republicans*, as an apology for the most criminal and desperate excesses, but they may find themselves mistaken, for the day seems to be fast approaching when they will have to account to an injured public, for their usurpations, their delusions, and their crimes.

Elections in London, which may be called the grand Theatre of bribery and corruption, are attended with great expence, and his fortune was but very moderate: five thousand pounds which had been accumulated, during his minority, and considerable sums that had been collected for him in different places were expended on his trial, or in disseminating patriotic publications. The whole weight of government was placed in the opposite scale, his friends were insulted and his person was in danger. From these circumstances he declined standing the poll; but he did not desist from opposing administration; a change of servants was not sufficient to impose upon his judgment, and in consequence of an application from the Committee the Secretary of State wrote him the following Note.

“ Lord Shelburne presents his compliments to Lord George Gordon, and shall be very glad of the honor of receiving his Lordship, with the Gentlemen of the Deputation from the Committee of the Protestant Association, next Wednesday morning at half past eleven.

“ *Shelburne House, Saturday June 1 1781.*”

In compliance with Lord Shelburne's letter, the Gentlemen of the Deputation waited on his Lordship at the time appointed, and were received with great affability and politeness. The Deputation opened the business by saying,

that they waited on his Lordship, as one of his Majesty's principal Secretaries of State, to solicit his interest for the repeal of the late act in favor of popery—that unless it were repealed, it would operate more speedily than ministers were aware of to the subversion of the State and the ruin of the nation—that the whole was a piece of State-Policy to court the assistance of the Papists in prosecuting certain measures:—and added, that Popery was so inimical to the public tranquillity, in the eye of the law, that “if even the King were to be reconciled to it, he would forfeit his Crown, and his subjects would be absolved from their allegiance:” that they were bold to affirm the word of God denounces a Wo against the contrivers of such political schemes, and “therefore shall the strength of Pharaoh be their shame, and their trust in the shadow of Egypt their confusion.”*

Lord Shelburne commended them for their vigilance in the best interests of their country, and expressed his firm belief in the rectitude of their views and intentions. He said his affections to the Protestant Religion were firmly rooted, and his prejudices against popery particularly strong—that the Catholics however had made no bad use of the indulgence granted them in this country—and that he should not consent to the passing such an act for Scotland, but that the rest of the Cabinet were not pledged. After a long conversation of this nature, in which much shuffling and cajoling were opposed to the most earnest intreaties and remonstrances, the Deputation were obliged to retire without having obtained his Lordship's promise to vote for a repeal of the Act, or to adopt any specific measure for a redress of grievances.

In the latter end of 1782, Lord George visited Paris,

* Isaiah, chap. 20. 1, 2, 3.

and was sensibly struck with the effects of despotism and the ravages of war, then visible throughout that city. Nothing was to be seen in the most fertile country of Europe but lofty palaces or wretched hovels: the golden mean was totally unknown. The unfeeling Noble and the haughty Prelate, whom we now see counting the signposts of London, would scarce deign to cast a look upon the Peasant and Manufacturer, trudging in the mire; and yet, unconscious of the rod that oppressed them, they were as much attached to the grand Monarque, and to the various Orders in Church and State, as if their misfortunes had not been owing to their usurpations and their crimes. But the times are altered; for the people, who were considered as an inferior species of animals, since they became conscious of their importance, have astonished the world with the truth of their philosophy, and the valour of their arms, and taught the Despots of the Earth what it is to insult the dignity of man.

Lord George was introduced to Maria Antionette, and into all the *fashionable* circles of Paris; but their hypocrisy and deceit hurt his feelings—his imagination was not enraptured with Burke's *Celestial Vision*, nor could he be comfortable whilst millions around him were unhappy. He was naturally an enemy to flattery and intrigue; and education had rendered the worship of images peculiarly obnoxious to him. The Philosopher contemplates with sorrow, the degradation of human nature and looks down with an eye of pity upon the errors and sufferings of deluded man; but *he* was not satisfied with silent disapprobation; whatever appeared hurtful to virtue and humanity, became fit objects of his opposition. The vices of the French Clergy, whose downfall, our *great men* so pathetically regret, could not escape his observation, and the evil use they made of their ill-gotten power, con-

firmed him in his aversion against church establishments. Far from being dazzled with the trappings of despotism which he was wont to compare to the *whited Sepulchre*, or from being reconciled, through habit, to the outrages which the Church of Rome are continually offering to Nature, he returned to Britain, more firmly resolved than ever to prosecute the plan of general reform.

During the American war, when an invasion was threatened by the Court of France, whose usurpations, our immaculate Minister, ever at variance with reason and consistency, is now so anxious to restore, a number of Fencible Regiments were raised in Scotland, on the express condition that they should never quit their own country except in case of an invasion of England, and that they should be discharged upon the restoration of peace. Towards the conclusion of the war, the Athol Highlanders were, by slow degrees, marched to Portsmouth, *under the pretence* of immediate danger, but in *reality*, to sell them to the East-India Company. What happened on that occasion is well known to the public.

Rich men,* whatever their crimes may be, instead of a halter, generally obtain a coronet; and this explains why these dealers in human flesh, these violaters of the *Rights of Man* were never brought to condign punishment.

His Majesty's changing his principal servants, contrary to the sense of a great majority of the House of Commons, was considered, even by *Aristocrates*, as a dangerous stretch of prerogative, and an encroachment on their own privileges. This induced Lord George, who attended

* *Vide* the Trials of LORD CLIVE, HASTINGS, &c.

the Whig Club, at the Shakespeare, when Mr. Fox became a candidate for Westminster, in April 1784 to give him every assistance in his power; he mounted the hustings, exposed the insignificant character and contemptible talents of Sir Cecil Wray, the Ministerial Candidate and procured no less than five hundred of his friends to vote for Mr. Fox, whereby he turned the scale in his favour, and rendered the designs of government abortive. Nevertheless, the exertions of Lord George, however well-intended, gave umbrage to a number of his most independent friends, who considered Mr. Fox as warped by party, and neither calculated by nature or habit to extricate a sinking nation from impending ruin. They had given orders for an elegant carriage, voted him for his services in the public cause, which was immediately countermanded, in consequence of the part he took in this election; but whoever attends to the motives that influenced his actions, will easily perceive that his conduct was strictly honourable, and his interference a duty: and from his observing, when it was moved in the House of Commons, "that the ministry had lost the confidence of the people," that there ought to be added by way of amendment, "that the opposition had not found it," we have an additional proof how little he was actuated by party motives. We shall find, in the following Memoirs, a striking instance of Mr. Fox's ingratitude, and an infallible criterion whereby to form a judgement respecting the politics of the *Man of the People**.

Since the American war, the British Cabinet has seemed more anxious to confer titles and emoluments upon the friends of Despotism than to lessen the excessive burdens of the poor, which that war had accumulated on them. Titled *Aristocrats* were rewarded, with enormous pen-
 sions.

* An Epithet bestowed on Mr. Fox, by party scribblers,

ons, merely because they had supported ministers, or could trace their descent from the bastard offspring of a profligate King. Sinecure places were increased in due proportion with public distress, and the rich shared, among themselves, what should have been devoted to the relief of a suffering people. To support this profusion of the public money, invention was racked in order to discover new taxes, which doubled the price of provisions, crowded our streets with beggars, and brought thousands to an untimely end.—Amongst many others, amounting almost to a prohibition, a new tax was proposed on Linens, Cottons and Scotch gauze. When that spirit of discontent which has been long smothered, but never extinguished, broke forth a new, a variety of Letters passed between Lord George, Mr. Pitt and the Manufacturers and the following is a part of the Correspondence.

TO MR. PITT,

FIRST LORD OF THE TREASURY.

“ Lord George Gordon presents his compliments to Mr. Pitt. He has just received fresh instructions from Glasgow, against the tax on Linens and Cottons. Alarming symptoms are breaking out. The following extracts of intelligence will advertise Mr. Pitt of the situation of government: “ We are sorry to inform your Lordship, that if the new tax passes into a law, it will not be in the power of the civil magistracy, in different places of Scotland to keep the peace; as they are already assembled in different places, and purposing to do as Ireland has done; your Lordship will take the trouble to request your brother, the Duke of Gordon, to go to Mr. Pitt, and inform him of the dreadful prospect we have of mobs and tumults from the working people in this country.”—These letters are dated July 22.

“ Lord George Gordon is extremely sorry to have oc-

“ cation to address the prime Minister in so short and abrupt a manner. The nature of the subject and the ticklish state of the peace of these kingdoms; must apologize for it. The Duke of Gordon being gone to Gordon Castle, the task has necessarily devolved on Lord George.—Lord George has the honor to return Mr. Pitt many thanks for his polite and immediate reply to his last note on this subject; though the answer, indeed, was not decisive. Lord George hopes to hear again from Mr. Pitt, before he goes out this night.

“ *Welbeck-street, Tuesday, July 22.*”

“ TO LORD GEORGE GORDON:

“ Mr. Pitt presents his compliments to Lord George Gordon, and is much obliged to his Lordship for the honor of his note. Mr. Pitt has reason to believe that the Lord Advocate has sent to Glasgow all the information that can be necessary, and has therefore nothing to trouble his Lordship with on the subject.

“ *Downing-street, Tuesday night, July 27.*”

Tranquillity and industry immediately took place in Glasgow and Paisley upon the Ministry's giving up their favourite tax, and the following address was transmitted to Lord George.

“ *May it please your Lordship,*

“ We, the representatives of the journeymen weavers in Paisley, humbly beg leave to return your Lordship our most grateful acknowledgements for your ready endeavours to prevent the tax upon silk, gauze, &c. which would so materially have injured these branches of manufacture, by which so many thousands, of both sexes, in this town, and the adjacent country, obtain a comfortable livelihood.

“ We also beg leave to inform your Lordship, that as

“ we are not an incorporated body, but a Committee appointed for the special purpose of using such legal and constitutional means, as were in our power, of opposing the tax which is now settled, our existence as a committee, is no longer necessary, and we are this day dissolved.

“ We remain, with the greatest respect and esteem, your Lordship’s most obliged and humble servants.

“ Signed in our name, and by our appointment.

“ ANDREW SIMM, PRESES.”

“ *Paisley August 6th 1784.*

Commerce had not sufficiently raised her drooping head, nor had the wounds inflicted on humanity, by an obstinate degraded administration, ceased to bleed, when new plans were devised to inflict additional fetters on an oppressed Nation. Genius languished in despair ! Industry compelled to support, by her exertions, luxury and extravagance, or to seek an asylum in the hospitable regions of America : an almost universal discontent prevailed, and an entire depopulation seemed to threaten the North of Scotland, when the British Cabinet, either to amuse the people with *affected generosity*, or to impose upon the highlanders, by ceasing to persecute their chiefs, resolved to restore the estates forfeited in 1745, to their original owners. Lord George immediately protested against the measure, and wrote a petition to the House of Lords, in which, amongst a variety of arguments, he observes, “ that the people groaned most bitterly under a heavy burden of taxes, heavier and greater than in any former reign, and that it became the Legislature to relieve their immediate wants rather than to confer emoluments upon men, who had abandoned their own country on account of their attachment to arbitrary power, and had since lavished their blood and treasure in fighting for the Despots of Europe. That his own disaffection to his Majesty’s different administrations, for

“ these ten years past, arose from his sincere abhorrence of
 “ their principles, their politics, and their practices, fo-
 “ reign and domestic—and that he could not now take the
 “ oaths to government, with a clear conscience, as the law
 “ stands, even to save his life.—And, that as none of these
 “ expatriated Nobles had ever distinguished themselves in
 “ the cause of freedom, the people had reason to suspect,
 “ that both their changing their allegiance from the House
 “ of Stuart, and the unexpected favour shewn them by
 “ the court, were owing to administration’s adopting those
 “ tyrannical principles for which the chiefs had been ex-
 “ pelled from Britain.”

It is not my business at present, to investigate the motives that produced the above measure, perhaps the ministry thought those who had supported the usurpations of the Stuarts the best qualified to support the encroachments of any future reign, or perhaps it took its origin from that secret foreign influence, which seems for some time past to have influenced the British council.—It could not be from that benign principle of yielding pardon to a *prejudiced Brother*, for alas! future generations will shed a sympathetic tear, over the history of these times which have produced such unexampled instances of cruelty and revenge. Lord George’s conduct must however excite impartial praise. The highland chiefs were his near relations, and his family connections were all displeased with his proceedings; but neither the ties of blood, nor the more powerful springs of interest were capable of influencing his actions, when he thought the liberty and happiness of his country were concerned.

As the revival of learning in Europe is principally ascribed to the art of printing, so may the partial revival of liberty be ascribed to the reformation; for the moment the

chain was weakened, that connected Church and State, it was easy to prognosticate the shock that despotism would receive. The progress of freedom to be sure was slow, but it was certain. The new Republics of Switzerland, Holland, Geneva &c. not only rivalled, but surpassed Greece and Rome; for just in proportion to the degree of republicanism in any country, have the people been prosperous and happy, and this accounts why the government of Britain, when compared to some of those on the Continent appears even mild and gentle. Were it practicable to introduce the pure representative system, wars and bloodshed would be impossible, for the interests of the many would naturally incline them to peace and equality; and to subdue a free people, could only be effected by extermination, which, till the present destructive crusade against the liberties of France, has been always deemed a wild chimera,

As Kings have a sort of sympathetic feeling, or rather a common interest in supporting each another, it cannot be doubted that the same principle prevails in a higher degree between the people: the Dutch Patriots therefore, who consider princes, as ravenous wolves, entered into the war, in favour of American liberty, with a degree of enthusiasm not very peculiar to their climate, whilst the Stadtholder complied with the greatest reluctance—experience had taught him what neither France nor Spain foresaw—it taught him to dread the contagion of liberty. The citizens who think they have an interest separate, from the Stadtholder, attributed all their defeats and miscarriages to his councils, whilst he was continually thwarting their measures and accusing them of negligence and imprudence, which increased that suspicion and mistrust which now seem to threaten his destruction.

From America, the French soldiers transplanted the

Tree of Liberty into the centre of their own country, and the Court of Versailles, to avert the storm at home, was endeavouring to sow the seeds of discord between the United States: the swords of Brirons were still reeking with the blood of their murdered brethren; and the Dutch were contending with the Stadtholder, about who should pay the expences of the war; when the Emperor of Germany, in the true Imperial stile, took advantage of their dissentions and menaced to deprive the Dutch of the Navigation of the Scheldt: he marched numerous armies to the frontiers of Holland, and was continually intriguing with the Court of Versailles. Protestantism and Popery were in Lord George's opinion, synonymous with Liberty and arbitrary Power, and he naturally conceived, that the Emperor's views were secretly directed against the happiness of an independent nation—he trembled for the protestant interest, and as President of the Association, he founded the tocsin, and endeavoured to renew those ties of fraternity between the people, which, for many years past, had degenerated into compacts, subsidies, and proclamations, between the princes who reign over them.

Upon the 8th of November, Lord George had a long conference with the Dutch Ambassador; and upon the 10th, it was proposed that the President with the Dutch Consul at the head of the Association, should accompany him to St James's as a proof of their affectionate regard; but this proposal, from prudential motives, was rejected. In the morning of the 10th, Lord George dressed himself in the Dutch uniform—he flung a large belt over his shoulder, in which he placed a Highland broad sword, that had opposed with success the usurpations of the See of Rome; and thus accoutred, he went to the guard room, and prevailed upon the 3d regiment to mount the Dutch cockade. When the Ambassador approached, he drew

his rusty sword, and saluted him, declaring, "that he would protect, to the utmost of his power, the Dutch and their interests;" the guards rested their fire-locks, and signified their attachment to the Protestant cause. Immediately on the Levee breaking up, he had another interview with the Ambassador, and an express was dispatched to the States General, acquainting them with the acquisition of the Protestant Association. Lord George in the mean time sent memorials to the different States of Europe, addressed the protestants of every denomination, and entered into the following correspondence with Mr. Pitt.

TO MR. PITT, First Lord of the Treasury.

"Sir,

"Several hundred seamen have addressed me to day, many of them lately arrived from India, came in coaches: acting lieutenants, mates, and midshipmen of the Royal Navy are among them.—The following is a copy of the generality of their addresses:"

"To the Right Hon. LORD GEORGE GORDON,

"President of the Protestant Association.

"*May it please your Lordship,*

"We, the Seamen whose names are underwritten, are able, willing, and ready, to serve the United Protestant States of Holland, against the King of the Romans, and all their Popish enemies. And your Petitioners will ever pray for Lord George Gordon.—Signed, Edward Robinson, and thirty-four other seamen, at the Kettle Drum, Radcliffe-Highway, November 17th, 1784."

"Several Officers of distinction, in the land service, have also applied to me, and offered their services to the States General, particularly a field officer in the Connecticut line, in the Province of Massachusetts, and

"an officer who has lately left the Irish Brigade of France
 "who wished to enter into service more agreeable and
 "congenial to his sentiments and principles. Many of
 "the Guards have requested to go volunteers—some
 "Athol Highlanders are on their way to town, who I
 "make no doubt, will engage in the good Protestant cause
 "of their High Mightinesses. I acquaint you as Prime
 "Minister, with these matters, that you may convince
 "Baron Van Lynden, of the general good disposition of
 "the people of these realms, to comply with his Excel-
 "lency's request, and to renew again their old friendship
 "with Holland, upon the righteous and solid foundation
 "of the protestant interest.

I am, Sir, with all due respect,

"Your humble Servant,

Welbeck-street, Nov. 17, 1784.

"G. GORDON."

"To Mr. PITT, First Lord of the Treasury.

"Sir,

"Captain Rawlinson, of Shadwell, has just been with
 "me, and made me a very noble offer of the Frigate
 "Prince William, of 26 guns, to cruise against the Imperial
 "merchantmen, and all the enemies of the United States.
 "Several Artillery-men are preparing an address also to
 "make offer of their services: More than a thousand
 "Seamen, with a full proportion of masters, mates, gun-
 "ners, and carpenters, have already signed their requests
 "to be employed in the same just cause.

"I am happy to acquaint you, Sir, as Prime Minister,
 "with these good symptoms of the love and affection of
 "the people of these kingdoms, for their old protestant
 "friends in their present critical situation with the popish
 "powers.

I am, Sir, with all due respect,

"Your humble Servant,

Welbeck-street, Nov. 18, 1784.

"G. GORDON."

Upon the 19th, Mr. Pitt wrote him the following letter :

“ *My Lord,*

“ I have hitherto returned no answer to the letters I received from your Lordship on the 17th, and 18th instant, because I did not think it my duty to enter into a correspondence with your Lordship on the subject. But having been informed that many Seamen have been induced to quit their occupation, in the expectation of being employed to serve against the Emperor, I think it my duty to remind you, that whatever steps you have taken, have been without the smallest degree of authority or countenance from his majesty's Ministers, and that it is for your Lordship to consider what consequences may be expected from them.

“ I am, my Lord,

“ Your Lordship's obedient humble Servant,

*Downing-street, 26 minutes past one
o'clock, P. M. Nov. 19, 1784.*

“ W. PITT.”

Upon the receipt of the above Lord George replied.

“ To Mr. PITT, First Lord of the Treasury.

“ *Sir,*

“ I received your letter of to day, just now. It was very rude in you not to answer my two letters sooner.— I am glad to hear you say, that many Seamen have been induced to quit their occupation, in expectation of being employed against the Emperor. This shews the Seamen's hearts are warm towards the States of Holland, and that they wish to lend a hand to assist them against their enemies. As soon as you and the rest of his Majesty's Ministers are pleased to authorize and countenance these honest endeavours of the seamen to support these Protestant States, I will make proposals to the Dutch Ambassador, and to the States of Holland, to take them

"into immediate pay. The consequences may fall on the
 "heads of the King's servants, if they advise their Sove-
 "reign to take a part against the Protestant Interest.

"I am, Sir,

"Your humble Servant,

Welbeck Street, Nov. 19, 1784.

"G. GORDON."

Addressees from every quarter poured in approving his spirited conduct. The Protestant Volunteer corps of Ireland, voted him their thanks, and among the foremost appeared the Wicklow Foresters.

"To the Right Hon. LORD GEORGE GORDON.

"My Lord,

"I was absent from home when your Lordship's letter
 "arrived, or should sooner have acknowledged the honor
 "of receiving it. It flatters the good intentions of the
 "Wicklow Foresters not a little, to meet the approbation
 "of a Nobleman of such truly sound constitutional prin-
 "ciples as are well known to animate your Lordship. I
 "must request that you will receive the warmest acknow-
 "ledgements of those descendants from early English
 "Settlers I have the honor of commanding, for the just
 "light in which you wish to place them, and the marked
 "attention you have honoured them with; and that your
 "Lordship will believe me to be, with the highest respect
 "for the Protestant Association,

Your Lordship's most obedient

"and faithful humble servant,

"SAMUEL HAYES.

"Colonel of the Wicklow Foresters."

Avondale, November 14th, 1784.

The attention of the whole nation was fixed upon his Lordship's proceedings, and the Cabinet were seriously alarmed; for however they might stand affected to the

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Politics of the Continent, they did not choose to employ the hero of 1780.—Upon the 19th a vast croud of Sailors went to the Queen's House, demanded employment, and shewed evident marks of discontent; but upon Lord Sydney promising to redress their greivances, they departed without committing any acts of violence.—At this time B. Wilson, Lord George's *acting Lieutenant*, at the *Kettle Drum*, was taken into custody and conveyed to Lord Sydney's office, where he underwent a strict examination, but was soon discharged and sent with a verbal message to his Lordship. Lord George returned for answer, that "if Lord Sydney had any business with him he must write a letter, as verbal messages were uncertain." No time was now to be lost, the Sailors and part of the army were forming themselves into numerous bodies, and his Majesty's ministers were in imminent danger.

Vigorous measures were instantly taken to secure the peace of the city—the Ports were shut, and a legion of spies and informers were sent off to Wapping to circulate a report amongst the Sailors that Lord George had taken advantage of their simplicity and afterwards betrayed them. Men, who groan under a series of misfortunes, excessive impositions, or a long continued chain of wrongs, become at length diffident and suspicious; the remembrance of the past makes them dread the future. His enemies began first by insinuating doubts and probabilities, but when the passions of their audience seemed sufficiently roused, they openly accused him of treachery and duplicity; and proposed to avenge themselves of the injuries received by pulling down his house, and punishing the offender. This proposition was instantaneously embraced. A friend who could not prevent their designs, hastened to Welbeck-Street, with the information. His servant left the house, the neighbours began to remove their most valuable fur-

niture, and dreadful consequences were expected; but a mind, conscious of integrity, is not easily shaken, he remained unmoved in the midst of danger, and sat down to breakfast with the greatest composure. At the hour proposed, an immense croud appeared, the streets were filled with their numbers, and all was tumult and confusion.—Arrived at his house, they knocked at the street-door, and in a vehement tone of voice, threatened that vengeance, which disappointment on the one hand, and treachery on the other, naturally inspire: he opened it with a philosophic indifference, and immediately a profound silence succeeded—he addressed them in cool, but manly language, expatiated on the arbitrary, perfidious measures, which Ministers had pursued, and assured them that he had ever been the friend of the people, and the advocate of the oppressed—In an instant the populace caught the flame, he was interrupted with bursts of applause, and the air resounded with shouts of GORDON and LIBERTY! and when he had concluded his harangue, they asked him if they might go and “pull down Mr. Pitt’s house;”*—he made a *low bow and withdrew*. They however retired in peace, and thus his Lordship enjoyed the satisfaction of frustrating the wicked plan of his enemies. The effect his speech produced, clearly proves how much he possessed the art of pleasing the people, nor do Greece or Rome

* The friends of Government should be extremely cautious in employing their *Church and King Mobbs*. When men who have been long oppressed get arms into their hands, they generally turn them against the Authors of their misfortunes. Melancthon, the friend and companion of Luther, was once employed by the See of Rome, to stifle the Reformation in its birth. In the West of England, a pensioner of the Court, lately engaged a few unlettered men to burn the Effigy of *Thomas Paine*, for a barrel of Porter—when they had accomplished this heroic exploit, they asked his honour, “if he had any more Bishops to burn:” and it is supposed they would have willingly paid them, and certain other great men, the honour, of Martyrdom, for a very small quantity indeed.

furnish us with a nobler instance of persuasive eloquence than is here displayed. A few days after the above triumph, he received the following letter from a Count O'Rourke, Knight of the *Holy Roman Eagle*, and late a Field Officer in the Imperial service.

To the Right Hon. LORD GEORGE GORDON.

" *My Lord Gordon,*

" I shall be glad to know what motives, or what interest you can have, in being so vehement against the ancient Catholic religion? Has your Lordship forgot that you are sprung from ancestors who thought that way of thinking right; and that at this moment your aunt professes it in all its original forms? That which was the religion of your family, at so late a period as in the time of your grandfather, should not be so reviled by you. Give me leave to ask what religion it is that you profess, which recommends persecution? Surely not the Protestant! I acknowledge that I am, and all my forefathers were Roman Catholics.—My family can boast of antiquity before that of the Gordons—well known to the British Court, well known to all the Courts of Europe. I am at present the chief of that family, and, as I before observed, profess the same way of thinking that they did *in matters of religion*—but I am not for persecution—men of late, of both religions, have got a more liberal way of thinking; toleration has diffused itself over the world, and shewed men the folly of falling out about religion, and that it is not any particular mode of worship that will open the road to heaven.—What became of your Lordship that you did not share or partake of that blessing? Did you envelope yourself in so great a degree of enthusiasm, as to prevent its approaching you?

" In former times, no wars were carried on, no disaf-
 " fection to government, in short, no plot, tho' ever so
 " wicked, but had as its covering the security of religion.
 " The interest of the established Church has been, and
 " you intend shall again be your foundation for tumults,
 " riots, murders, burnings, &c. &c. similar to those of
 " 1780.—Take care, my Lord, hearken to my advice, de-
 " sist from your late conduct; let every man go to hea-
 " ven in his own way; his Majesty has not more loyal
 " or better subjects in his kingdom than the Catholics:
 " they have committed no outrage, they have not disturb-
 " ed the public peace, nor attempted to destroy the Go-
 " vernment of this country, when at war with many great
 " powers. Forget that odious word "*Papist*," which you
 " so frequently make use of, when speaking of the Roman
 " Catholics; but should it endeavour to foam up, take a
 " draught of warm water, and wash it down again.

" I had the honour of being a Captain in a Scotch
 " Regiment, in the French service; in it were men of
 " different religions, yet we lived like friends, not suffer-
 " ing the difference of religion to create feuds and dissen-
 " sions among us. Lord Lewis Drummond commanded
 " that Regiment—it would have been fortunate for you
 " had you passed a few years in it; it might have given
 " you a more liberal way of thinking, and kept you out of
 " a vast deal of trouble; it is not too late to mend; and
 " when your Lordship pleases to call on me I shall be
 " happy to enlarge on the subject with you: and perhaps
 " if you are not predetermined, I may be able to convince
 " you that you are wrong.

" I have the honor to be,

" Your Lordships most obedient

" Humble servant,

O'ROURKE.

P. S. I shall be glad to know who this officer of the
 “Irish Brigade is, that you so pompously mention in
 “your letter to Mr. Pitt; if he has quitted that brave
 “Corps with the approbation of his Commanders, and
 “with the character of a man of honour, and is so *in reality*,
 “I am sure you can have no influence over him to make
 “him join in your present schemes. I must also remark
 “that when you speak of the Emperor, you should observe
 “the respect due to so great a public, and so illustrious a
 “private Character.”

Lord George sent the following reply.

Wellbeck-street, Nov. 29, 1794.

“Sir,

“Your letter dated 24th was not delivered at my house
 “till yesterday 28th.

“In reply to it, give me leave to inform you that as
 “President of the Protestant Association I am answerable
 “to my constituents for my watchfulness and fidelity in
 “discharging the important trust they have reposed in
 “me; I am also answerable to the Government and the
 “Magistrates, if I, in any degree, transgress the laws of
 “the land; but I am no way responsible for my public
 “conduct to you, or any other private individual.—You
 “will therefore excuse me, for declining the offer you
 “make me of calling upon you to enlarge on the subject,

I am, Sir,

“Your most obedient,

“humble servant,

“G. GORDON.”

“A Monsieur, Monsieur O’Rourke }
 “soi-disant Count O’Rourke. }

Lord George had good sense and discretion enough to
 treat the above with that contempt which it deserved.

O'Rourke, like his unfortunate ancestors had wandered from Court to Court, ever ready to display his prowess in support of the infallibility of the Pope, and the divine rights of Kings, and now he appears the *Quixotic Champion* of the Roman Emperor—How unfortunate that this Knight Errant has not survived the French Revolution—how he must have applauded the chivalry of Burke, and how his sword would have leaped from its scabbard to avenge the death of a perjured King, and an abandoned guilty Queen! But whatever contempt the conduct of such deluded men may excite, it is not easy to avoid their revengeful machinations: Enthusiasm and fanaticism are unacquainted with prudence, added to which the Count, like other adventurers, hoped to procure preferment, on the Continent, by provoking his resentment and calling him to the *Feld*. The latter however had, penetration to perceive the trap, and the good fortune to escape it. When the sword had failed in ridding them of a man, who has been stiled, the “avowed enemy of Church and King,” they attempted another method still more congenial to their feelings.

The *Holy Fisherman* of Rome, who holds the keys of Paradise in one hand, and the gates of Hell in another; who consistently pretends to be the Servant of Servants, whilst he arrogates to himself a dispensing power over the lives and properties of men—this Spiritual Tyrant, whose professional practice is ever to devise new crimes, dispatched two faithful Jesuits, of the true genuine stamp, provided with a pardon for all crimes, past, present, and to come, and on condition that they would assassinate the President of the Protestant Association. These fiends, who cover the darkest and most dangerous designs, with an hypocritical sanctity, took up their lodgings near Welbeck-street—but notwithstanding the secrecy of the Church, he was inform-

ed that his death had been resolved upon in the *Vatican* : he was therefore consequently upon his guard, constantly attended by a friend, and very particular in his diet.

At this period he happened to fall sick, and was under the directions of his Physicians, when these Monsters attempted to execute their orders. They sent a vial filled with a certain liquid, to which were affixed instructions apparently written by his apothecary, with the strictest injunctions to take it immediately.—As it was brought by a stranger who hastily departed, it created suspicion, and at the very moment he was about to swallow the draught he hesitated, and sent for the apothecary : the imposition was detected, the medicine analyzed, and found to contain the most deadly poison. These are the arms which his Holiness employs to destroy unsuspecting men, who oppose the interails of Popery, and it is to reinstate his adherents that Britons are now in arms—but the genius of liberty is victorious, and will baffle all the united efforts of Priests and Tyrants.

In the mean time the Emperor entered into a Negotiation with the Dutch—From the temper of the times, and the various interests, which connect the different States of Europe, with Holland, the war must otherwise have become general. The people required an interval of repose. An unjust and bloody contest had left Ministers little to bestow upon Contractors, &c. which induced the different Cabinets for once to be moderate and pacific.* Hawkesbury and Pitt can best tell what effect Lord George's inter-

* The Kings in the interior of Africa, annually make war upon one another by mutual agreement, and sell whatever Prisoners they take, to our Merchants for Slaves ; which inhuman traffic constitutes the principal part of their revenue. Would it not seem, from the increase of taxes, the numerous preferments, pensions, and sinecure places, which follow every war, that something similar was understood in Europe ?

ference had upon *their* conduct. But as the Emperor was satisfied to let the Navigation of the Scheldt, remain as it had been before, whereby his subjects are still deprived of the right to navigate their own river, upon receiving a large sum of money, which, instead of dividing, among the people who had sustained the burdens of his ruinous visionary campaigns, he profusely lavished in other barbarous schemes of aggrandizement, and unbounded expence, so that we must infer that the happiness of his subjects formed no part of his universal plan.

When it was found equally impracticable to terrify or corrupt Lord George, Ministry endeavoured to lessen his influence by detaching his family from him. The evil genius of discord began to throw his malignant shafts and they reached even to the Banks of the Spey. Places and Pensions were heaped upon his relations; the Duke and Dukes became the principal favorites at St. James's; Lord William was made Lord High Admiral, and Ranger of Hyde Park; his uncle, Commander in Chief in Scotland, his sisters Pensioners of the Court, and every mark of attention was shewn to every branch of the family. Men of weak minds are easily seduced: I shall not therefore decide whether they considered these lucrative employments, to which they have no claim, as the reward of their superior merit, or as the price of their brothers disgrace. The scheme however was as political as it was immoral, and succeeded beyond the most sanguine expectation of the Cabinet. It is well known that interest is the *primum mobile* which actuates our Noblesse, the ties of blood and the pleasant remembrance of juvenile years have no effect upon them, the nobler sentiments of the mind have given way to the most grovelling passions, and interest supercedes every other consideration.

As Lord George was of a contemplative and serious turn of mind, he delighted in the society of the people commonly called Quakers. This happy portion of the human race, are exempt from the vain parade and foolish pretensions of other men:—they live together in the strictest bonds of amity and love—unpractised in deceit, they hate the very idea of deception, and look upon one another as children of the same Father. Vice and intemperance are far banished from their gates, and their hospitable board is ever open to the poor. Virtue and industry are the only marks of distinction amongst them: and Liberty and Equality, which Reeves and his gang of Inquisitors so much dread, prevail in their full extent. Republicans in their lives and conversation, they enjoy all the blessings of a well regulated society, luxury and want being equally unknown to them. They have no Priests, and yet they are virtuous, they have no poor rates, and yet we see none of them supplicating in the streets for bread: they have no haughty Noblesse, and of course no foolish pretensions, founded on the supposed merit of their ancestors. “*The tree is best known by its fruit,*” and for a century back not one of them has been convicted of any capital offence. Oh! peaceful and happy people, how excellent you shine in the opinion of all good men!—When I compare your actions with those of bloody sectaries, I am lost in admiration, and almost persuaded to be a QUAKER. Would mankind, like you, form their laws upon the basis of justice and humanity, iniquity and misery would be banished from the Earth, and the sum which a single Despot squanders upon his pleasures amongst pandars and prostitutes, would be more than sufficient to defray the whole expences of a rational, virtuous Government.

The Golden Age would then revive,
Each man would be a Brother;

In harmony we all would live,
And share the Earth together.

Every one would then have an easy competence, and enjoy in calm repose, under his own fig-tree, the things which nature designed, and which she had provided in abundance for us all.

But though Lord George was fond of their easy manners and simplicity of life, he thought their patient submission to arbitrary power,* unnatural, and extremely improper in the present state of society:—he always maintained, and his opinion was founded on close observation, that we ought to consider ourselves as surrounded by wolves, ever ready to devour us, and should therefore remain upon the watch,—equally prepared to repel any overt attack, or insidious secret design. These were the motives that prevented him from joining their community, but though he cannot be ranked among their members, he always courted their society—nor did they desert him in his distress; they visited him in sickness and captivity, and to his dying moments he mentioned their morals and benevolence in terms of the warmest affection.

When the Ministry had laid a tax on Scotch Distilleries

* It was a maxim among Quakers, when you strike them on one cheek, to present the other also; and they literally repaid good for evil—but during the American war, a great number, who took up arms in the cause of liberty, have separated themselves from their brethren, and are known by the name of *fighting Quakers*. They are less austere in their manners: and though they carefully avoid giving offence, and practise universal benevolence and good-will toward all men, yet they have resolved to resist oppression.

During my intercourse with the world, I have become acquainted with a great number of this persuasion; from the Legislator, to the no less useful Mechanic, and I never knew one whom I cannot recommend as an excellent Patriot, and an honest man.

almost amounting to a prohibition, and when their favorite system of Excise, like the ancient police of Paris, was about to be extended to our most secret retirements, Lord George wrote circular Letters to all the towns in Great Britain, which by their petitions and remonstrances, compelled the ministry to modify and alter their darling scheme. He opposed, with various success, the tax on Windows, Candles, Stamps, Postage, &c.; and tho' the effects were not equal to his wishes, yet they must be considered as a powerful check upon the encroaching spirit of the minister; and as the most disinterested struggles of a virtuous man in support of an expiring country.

He was the first to oppose with firmness and constancy, the Shop tax: he summoned meetings in various parts of the country, and distributed hand-bills through the city reprobating its partiality and injustice—but as weak parents idolize their own children, however vicious or decripid they may be, so was our scholastic Minister inveterately attached to this favorite offspring of his inventive genius. Lord George began at Bond-street, and went along to the city, prevailing upon the people to shut their shops, and put up long polls with black crape and this inscription: “*This shop to be let, Enquire of Billy Pitt.*” This perseverance gave uneasiness to the Cabinet and they were obliged at length to grant to fear, what they had so obstinately and so long refused to justice.

Our Minister who owes his elevation and his fortune to the people, never pays the least attention to their interests, and yet he has the vanity to affect popularity—his *Levee Gentlemen* tell him, that he is the idol of the people, and he is sometimes weak enough to believe it; but when he reflects on the mischiefs he has done, and listens to the hollow murmurs of growing discontent, a gloomy melancholy preys

upon his mind, and he is compelled to seek a refuge in the conviviality of Dundas, and to bury reflection in bumpers of Champagne.* But as there are moments when the juice of the grape cannot give relief, he starts suddenly at a shadow, is disturbed in his sleep, by frightful dreams, and seems to dread he knows not what. Hence the myriads of Alarmists he has engaged in his pay. In winter 1785-6 Lord George went for the last time to Scotland, to attend the election of a member of Parliament for Aberdeenshire; where the Duke of Gordon and his Family connections have very extensive possessions. It is necessary to observe, that the very semblance of a free choice is mostly done away in North Britain. Formerly the proprietors of land appointed one part of the Legislature whilst the Royal Boroughs returned the rest; but owing to the oppressive laws of primogeniture, the land has mostly fallen into the hands of Peers and a few overgrown individuals, who retain the property and confer the superiority upon some of their dependents. In consequence of these fictitious titles, the Peers, who, by the act of union, have no votes, are generally successful in returning the Members to Parliament, and the small possessors, who, of all the landed Proprietors, are the most useful, become mere cyphers in a political sense. The two Candidates were Mr:

* It is said that Mr. Dundas initiated Mr. Pitt in the mysteries of Bacchus—and the copious draughts he can swallow do no small credit to the docile statesman. I shall never trouble myself about the lives of private individuals; but when a prime Minister, and a Secretary of State, have the indecent insolence to come staggering to the House of Commons, and with an authoritative tone, proclaim war against 25 millions of men, my blood boils with indignation, and I turn with abhorrence from the wretch who has been the cause of bringing my bleeding Country to the brink of destruction and strewing the plains of Flanders with the carcases of the slain. The mangled corps of many thousands of our Countrymen, yet lie unburied in the fields of battle, and their ghosts join the plaintive cries of widows and children in demanding a speedy vengeance on the authors of the war.

Ferguson, supported by the Duke of Gordon, and the Ministerial interest, and Mr. Skene, of Skene, supported by Lord Fife, and the opposition. When Lord George, who had been made a nominal Baron upon his Brothers Estate was on his way to the town-hall, the Streets were so crowded, from curiosity to see him, that it was with much difficulty that he could enter. There is an oath which the Electors are obliged to take, by which they swear, in the most solemn manner, that they have both the property and superiority of the lands for which they vote—As they are merely *Parchment* gentry, such an oath must appear perjury among sober men; but the Lawyers have found out a salvo for their consciences; and few, who are foolish enough to adorn themselves with false colours, will be very scrupulous about words. Lord George never intended to take an oath which his conscience could not approve, but as such a conduct was not expected by those who pay little attention to moral duties themselves, Mr. Charles Gordon, the Dukes agent, (though the very person who made out his titles for him) officiously began to raise objections—Lord George, in great good humour, compared him to “a Taylor, who cut out a suit of Cloaths for him, and afterwards began to pick holes in it.”—Having raised a laugh against Mr. Charles, he concluded with saying, “he should not dwell upon the mean artifice that had been practised, lest a justly incensed people might execute their vengeance in a particular way.” Mr. Charles took the hint, and sat down in confusion. As soon as Lord George found that his Friend had carried the Election, he gave orders to a Milliner to get ready a thousand Cockades to distribute among the people; but the Magistrates interfered, and he was prevailed upon to countermand the orders. In the evening however the City was superbly illuminated, and the air resounded with acclamations of “Gordon and

Liberty." The Students of Kings College caught the flame, and sent him the following Letter.

" The Students of King's College beg leave to present
 " their most respectful compliments to Lord George
 " Gordon ; and congratulate him upon his arrival in
 " Aberdeen.—They view with satisfaction and pride the
 " noble struggles he has made in favour of freedom, and
 " as a testimony of their esteem and regard would be happy
 " to accompany his Lordship in their uniform, when he
 " thinks proper to leave town.

" Signed, &c."

The Professors, who look up to the "*Loaves and Fishes*" were alarmed, threatened the Students, and, by their influence prevented them from making the intended visit.

The arrogance and self sufficiency of these fictitious Barons at the Election, gave rise to a number of Associations for striking them off the Roll—and, after much expence and labour, they have partly succeeded.—I grant, as matters now stand, it is very immaterial who elect the Scotch Members, but as the inquiry opened the eyes of a number of small proprietors, and brought to light a long series of bribery and corruption, it must prove favourable to the progress of liberty.

Lord George passed several weeks in the North, and visited a great number of his Friends, but did not choose to approach Gordon Castle, because the Duchess, since she had received the *elegant Carriage* from the Prince of Wales, had meanly endeavoured to asperse his Character, and ruin his reputation in the opinion of the people ; but the Sans Culottes every where received him with open arms, and flocked to see him as the Champion of Liberty. In his return to London, he was shewn every mark of attention, and it

clearly appeared, that the Ministerial libellers did not express the opinion of the Nation.

St. André, a Member of the present National Convention, has very properly observed, that man either from nature, or habit, is so fond of power that if you invest him with unlimited authority to day, he will become a rogue to-morrow, and the observation appears founded in experience : for no sooner had the Americans thrown off the despotism of Britain, than a few ambitious individuals endeavoured to retain the dominion themselves. In support of this project they received every possible assistance from the Court of Versailles, and had not learning* been more general, and the principles of liberty better understood than in the days of our Fathers, American heroism would have been displayed in vain. Lord George had a private Correspondence with the American agents at Paris, and from him he learnt that Mr. Adams, Ambassador at the Court of London, was the principal actor in this Liberticide Plot. He immediately conveyed the information to Laurens, Franklin, &c. &c. the letters that passed between them, on that occasion, are both curious and interesting. In one of them he observes, that "he saw their
" ambitious designs in endeavouring to subvert the repub-
" lican Government, by raising up an Emperor and Senaté
" like that of Rome, dependant on France, upon the ruins
" of the betrayed Commonwealth, under the auspices of
" the *Washington Convention*." But as Lord George

* Arthur Young not only recommends the abolition of Sunday Schools and the liberty of the Press, but says the poor should not be taught to read; lest they should read such dangerous books as Mr. Paine's. A more infamous doctrine never came from the Chair of St. Peter, nor was there ever a grosser insult offered to the feelings of a Nation. It is scarce necessary to observe, that so congenial is this doctrine to the designs of administration, that it has procured Mr. Young the lucrative appointment of Secretary to the board of Agriculture.

thought that too much publicity could not be given to an affair, in which the happiness of millions was involved, he sent the following letter to the Secretary of State.

“ To the MARQUIS of CARMARTHEN:

“ *My Lord,*

“ Mr. Tufts, an American gentleman now in London, is possessed of undeniable intelligence, that John Adams, Esq. who is received by the King as Ambassador from the United States of America, has his salary paid him quarterly by Comte d'Adhemar, the French ambassador. I thought it my duty to acquaint your Lordship with Mr. Tufts' information to me, for the immediate information of his Majesty's Council and Government, that you may beware of Mr. Adams.

“ I have the honor to be, &c.

“ G. GORDON.”

Wellbeck-street, April 29th, 1786.

The Secretary of State returned the following laconic answer.

“ Lord Carmarthen presents his compliments to Lord George Gordon, and returns his Lordship thanks for the note he received from him yesterday.

“ *Monday night, May 1st.*”

To discover a plot and to defeat it, are often the same thing; and the Court of France either changed their means of attack, or abandoned their designs altogether: Lord George had both the penetration to unravel their intrigues, and the courage to expose them; nor was it the first time that he had successfully contributed to secure the liberty of the new World, upon a solid foundation.

Mr. Adams and some others in America, have been long suspected by discerning men—they certainly were useful

during the war; but in our degenerate days, in Britain, there are thousands ready to pull down any system, provided it furnishes them with a ladder, on which to mount into office themselves.

The clergy, ever ready to profit by the errors, or misfortunes of the human race, in the dark ages, when the mind, weakened and enervated by superstition, had usurped an almost unlimited power, over the temporal affairs of men. Their decrees were founded on the maxims of Councils; and they regulated their judgements, upon that confused and unintelligible jargon, called the Canon Law. At first they affected to recommend a brotherly agreement, but by degrees, chicanry and deceit, with excessive exactness, characterized their decisions: and contrary to the express authority of the gospel, which they pretended to revere, they claimed a *right* to have their sentences enforced by the civil power: whereby in case of non-compliance, the most innocent might be banished for life, or imprisoned among the vilest criminals:

On the Reformation, the Churches of Canterbury and York, which had hitherto been devoted slaves to the See of Rome, found means to retain their authority, and notwithstanding their protestations to the contrary, have clearly demonstrated that their *Kingdom is of this world*. The Court seemed to countenance the imposition, and indeed as matters now stand, it would be madness to suppose that the one will ever seriously attempt to reform the other. In the reign of Charles the first,* the Legislature were induced to abolish these prerogatives altogether, but they obtained full force again, when civil and ecclesiastical tyranny overspread this unhappy land, upon the restoration; and have been exercised ever since, with

* 16 Ch. 1. c. 27.

more or less severity, as the caprice or interest of the clergy and the C—n directed.

Lord George, for a long time, regularly attended the lectures of the Rev. Mr. Wilfon, a gentleman whose morals and abilities were in high repute among the Dissenters, and during their acquaintance he had contracted a very great esteem for him. Mr. Wilfon fell sick, and in his dying moments was attended by Lord George—as he had made no Will, a dispute arose about his property, and it was necessary that Lord George's deposition should be taken: he offered to appear before a Civil magistrate, but objected to an Ecclesiastic, partly from a conscientious non-conformity, and partly from political motives. The Archbishop of Canterbury was greatly alarmed at this conduct; his authority was hence questioned: if he declined the contest, the precedent was dangerous, and his revenues would be diminished: if he attempted to force compliance, it was likely to give rise to an enquiry that might turn out eventually not very favorable to the Church. He wished therefore to compromise the matter, and proposed attending Lord George at his own house in Welbeck-street; but his Lordship was neither to be gained by threats nor promises, as his main design was to make it a national question. After many fruitless endeavours either to terrify or soothe him, he was excommunicated in the Church of St. Mary la Bonne, in May, 1786. He laughed at their proceedings, protested against their legality, and smartly observed, that “to expel him from a society to which he never belonged, was an absurdity worthy of an *Arch-Bishop*.”

As the excommunication had no effect in reclaiming him, they wished to have their sentence enforced by the civil power, and threatened to apply for the Writ *de Ex-*

communicato Capiendo.* Lord George on this observed that he was a Scotchman, adhering to the religion of his country, and the penal Statutes, annexed to ecclesiastical censures were abolished in North Britain, it was both cruel and illegal to punish him without a trial by jury, with imprisonment or banishment, for declining subjection to an ecclesiastical tyrant.—It was contrary to the precepts of the christian religion, to justice, and humanity, and would render the condition of Britons, if in daily terror of the *holy inquisition*, more deplorable than that of their *Indian Slaves*.

The Scotch and the Dissenters began to consider it in a serious point of view, and the Archbishop dreaded to put his threats in execution: but as it is a maxim among

* The Ecclesiastical Court has not yet relinquished its persecuting spirit—the same persevering disposition is still to be found among the Holy Brethren; but they chuse the objects of their vengeance with peculiar prudence.

The Rev. John Roe, minister at Calverton, has for a long time past, and still continues to marry under the act of Toleration. The Certificates are subscribed by the parties and recorded in the Registers of the society; they provide for their own poor, and none of them are a burden to the public. In the year 1787, Mrs. Bush, one of his disciples, was carried before the Justices of the Peace for the County of Nottingham, and committed for eleven weeks to the House of Correction on account of her pregnancy. Mrs. Bush, with Mrs. Roe, the Minister's wife, though she had been married ever since the year 1780, were next presented, by the Church Wardens, to the Chapter of the Collegiate Church of the Blessed Virgin Mary, for having several bastard children. The Chapter issued their process of citation, but neither of them appearing, they were pronounced contumacious and excommunicated. The resentment of the Church was not yet appeased; for upon the 20th of January, 1787, the Lord Archbishop of York, decreed two letters to the King, “ imploring “ his Majesty, in order to curb and repress their malice, according to the “ custom laudably observed within this realm, that his Majesty would “ command their bodies to be taken and imprisoned; that so those whom “ the fear of God does not restrain from evil, the severity of the law may “ at length repress.”

His Majesty, in consequence of this notification from the Archbishop,

Priests never to forgive those who question their authority perhaps Lord George's triumph contributed, in a great degree, to accelerate his destruction.

About this time the French began to shew symptoms of resistance against the rod that scourged them, and from conviction that the luxury of Court was incompatible with the happiness of the people, they systematically opposed all its measures. As no government can be firmly established, which has not *liberty and equality* for its basis, the cabinets of Europe, for more than a century past, have been wading deeper and deeper into an ocean of boundless debt; and it has been judged excellent policy to borrow immense sums, from the monied men, at an exorbitant interest. This plan, at the expence of the public good, has united the rich to the crown—but however politic it might have been in the beginning, they certainly went beyond their depth; for it taught the great body of the people that they had an interest separate from both: and the taxes have become so intolerable, that a general bankruptcy is reckoned inevitable, whilst the combinations among the

issued two Writs of *Excommunicato Capiendo* against these women in 1787; and they were thereupon taken and committed to the gaol for the County of Nottingham; still refusing to submit to the Spiritual Court in the matter of the marriage ceremony, claiming their right of marriage, as Protestant Dissenters, under the act of Toleration, and an exemption from all ecclesiastical censures for their non-conformity. Mr. Courtenay endeavoured to bring the unhappy situation of these women before the house of Commons on the 26th of April, last Session; but tho' the imprisonment of a Royal pair has shook the Empire to its very foundations, the much more cruel imprisonment of two honest and respectable persons excited no pity in the breasts of our Legislators. The House postponed it to another session; and they, with their children, still continue to languish in the Gaol of Nottingham. Had these pretended crimes been committed by any of the Privileged Orders, the Church would have remained in silence; but alas! they can neither boast of royal or noble blood. Such partial severity may be agreeable to the dogmas of the Church, but it is contrary to the grand principles of justice and humanity.

privileged orders and the increasing extravagance of the rich seem only calculated to accelerate the evil day of retribution.

The facility with which any nation raises money is just in proportion to the liberty it enjoys, and of course the resources of Versailles were mostly exhausted, whilst to gratify the ambition of a luxurious Court demands followed demands; but as credit is the child of opinion, the moment any government is discovered to be verging to decay, it is folly to attempt to borrow: no man chuses to worship the *setting sun*. The human mind was advancing to maturity, and yet Maria Antoinette, to the disgrace of her sex, had recourse to the most rash unjustifiable means to gratify her lusts and inordinate passions—she employed her pimps and secret agents to procure her money, and the Basile or banishment was the consequence of a refusal. Among the number of her victims the ill-fated Cagliostro.* was committed to the former. The energy of the Parisians increased with their misfortunes, and the fear of driving them to despair, by so many cruel examples, procured his release, but his property was detained, and the implacable resentment of the Queen banished him from France. Upon his arrival in England he contracted an acquaintance with Lord George which produced the following paragraphs in the Public Advertiser,

PUBLIC ADVERTISER, August 22d. 1786.

“ Mr. Barthelemy, who conducts the affairs of France in
“ the absence of Comte Dazimer, having sent Mr. Da-
“ ragon with a message to Comte de Cagliostro, in Sloane-

* Cagliostro retired to Rome, where his acquaintance with Lord George proved fatal to him. He was condemned to death, by an Ecclesiastical Court, for having broached some doctrines contrary to the mother Church—the sentence was afterwards changed into perpetual imprisonment; and he must languish in a Castle until death puts a period to his days, unless

" street, intimating that he had received orders from the
 " Court of Versailles to communicate to Comte de Cagli-
 " ostro that he had now permission to return to France.
 " Yesterday morning the Comte, accompanied by Lord
 " George Gordon and Mr. Bergeret de Frouville, waited
 " upon Mr. Barthelemy at the hotel of France, in Picca-
 " dilly, for an éclaircissement upon the subject of this mes-
 " sage from the Court of France, delivered by Mr. Bar-
 " thelemy, relative to the permission granted to Comte de
 " Cagliostro to return to Paris. Mr. Barthelemy, the
 " Comte de Cambise, and Mr. Daragon, seemed much
 " surprised to see Comte Cagliostro arrive in Lord George
 " Gordon's Coach, with his Lordship and Mr. Frouville,
 " and having expressed their desire that the Comte de Cag-
 " liostro *alone* should speak with Mr. Barthelemy, they were
 " informed that Lord George Gordon and Mr. Bergeret
 " de Frouville were there on purpose to attend their friend,
 " and that the Comte de Cagliostro would not dispense
 " with Lord George Gordon's absence from the confer-
 " ence. Will any friend to liberty blame Comte de
 " Cagliostro, after ten months imprisonment in a dungeon
 " for having his friends near him, when insidious proposals
 " are made to him by the faction of Breteuil; and the
 " supporters of the Bastille? men who have already been
 " his destruction, and, after his innocence was declared by
 " the Parliament of Paris, embezzled a great part of his
 " fortune, and exiled him from France. Mr. Barthelemy,
 " (seeing the determination of the Comte's friends) then
 " read the letter from Mr. Breteuil; but upon the Comte
 " de Cagliostro desiring a copy, Mr. Barthelemy refused it.
 " A great deal of conversation then ensued upon the subject,
 " which, in all probability will give rise to a full repre-

the Sans Culottes should fortunately relieve him. It is generally believed
 in France, that the Pope gave private orders to strangle him.

"sensation to the King of France, who is certainly very
 "much imposed on. The Queen's party is still violent
 "against Comte de Cagliostro, the friend of mankind;
 "and de Breteuil, le Sieur de Launey,* Titon, de Bruni-
 "eres, Maitre, Chession, Barthelemy, and Dazimer, are the
 "mere instruments of that faction. The honour of the
 "King of France, the justice and judgment of the Parlia-
 "ment of Paris, the good faith of the citizens, and the
 "good name of the nation, are all attainted by the pillage
 "and detention of the property of Count de Cagliostro.
 "The thousands of good citizens, whose acclamations
 "shook the Bastile upon the declaration of his innocence,
 "might very possibly give rise to his exile, by increasing
 "the jealousy and fear of an arbitrary government. But
 "why detain the fortune of a stranger, after his innocence
 "is declared? This is a very base proceeding indeed,
 "M. de Breteuil, and brings contempt and reproach upon
 "all concerned in it.

PUBLIC ADVERTISER, August 24th. 1786.

"Comte de Cagliostro has declared he will hold no in-
 "tercourse with any of Le Sieur Breteuil's messengers from
 "France, except in the presence of Lord George Gordon.
 "The gang of French spies in London, who are linked with
 "Monsieur de Merand, the Sieurs Barthelemy, Dazimer,
 "Cambise, and the Queen's Bastile party at Paris, are try-
 "ing the most insidious arts to entrap the Comte and Com-
 "tesse, have the effrontery and audaciousness to persecute
 "them publicly, and vilify their characters even in this

* The fate of the Queen is well known. Le Sieur de Launey was go-
 vernor of the Bastile—at the express desire of the Court, he deceived the Pa-
 triots and afterwards put them to death in cold blood; but was at length
 obliged to yield to republican valour, and his head was carried in triumph
 through the City, upon the immortal 14th July, 1789. De Breteuil is chief
 adviser of the Allies in the present war, &c.

“ free country, where these noble strangers are come to seek
 “ protection in the arms of a generous people. The friend-
 “ ship and benevolence of Comte de Cagliostro, in advising
 “ the poor Prince Louis de Rohan to be upon his guard against
 “ the Comtesse de Valois, and the intrigues of the Queen’s
 “ faction, (who still seek the destruction of that noble
 “ Prince) has brought upon the Comte and his amiable
 “ Comtesse the hateful revenge and perfidious cruelties of a
 “ tyrannical Government. The story of the diamonds has
 “ never been properly explained to the public in France.
 “ It would discover too much of the base arts practised to
 “ destroy Prince Louis, and involve in guilt persons not safe
 “ to name in an arbitrary kingdom.”

The injured of every country have a moral right to complain—in Britain it has always been the boast of our fathers, that there were no restraints upon the liberty of the press, or of speech, except those which decency requires; but alas! *tempora mutantur, et nos mutamur in illis*—the best intentions are now perverted and abused—*truth* has been deemed a *libel*; and the virtuous man who is desirous to instruct his fellow citizens, must either expose himself to all the severity of a *new and terrible inquisition*, or mourn in silence the progress of despotic power. Time and circumstances regulate the decrees of our Courts, and what is reckoned patriotism to-day, may be construed into a crime to-morrow.*

* “ The discretion of a Judge is the law of Tyrants; it is always unknown: it is different in different men; it is casual, and depends upon constitution, temper, and passion. In the best, it is oftentimes caprice; in the worst, it is every vice, folly, and passion to which human nature is liable.”—Lord Camden’s Arguments in *Doe v. Kersey*. Whether we are arrived at that deplorable situation which Camden so forcibly describes, I shall leave the reader to determine. About twelve years ago, Pitt and Richmond addressed the Volunteers of Ireland, and disclaimed much about independence, liberty, and reform; the people were weak

When the above paragraphs appeared, they excited no other emotions than those of pity for an unfortunate individual ; the people of England were not sufficiently degraded to look up with blind superstition to a throne supported by usurpations, and whose edicts were sealed with captivity and blood. Maria Antoinette was then an object of abhorrence ; neither her morals nor intrigues were suited to the English genius. As the politics of Courts generally depend upon the whim of a mistress, or the ambition of a favourite, it is difficult to account for the sudden change that took place ; but a recommendation from Versailles has heretofore been reckoned sure preferment at St. James's : perhaps a mutual support was judged necessary to crush the growing democratic spirit ; or perhaps it proceeded from that Christian disposition of *forgiving their enemies, and doing good to those who had despitefully used them*. Be that as it may, the Commercial Treaty was an offspring of this dark, but prolific intercourse. When detached pieces of this famous Treaty first made their appearance, Lord George reprobated it both in the newspapers and in hand-bills, observing " that secrecy was a proof of guilt ; and that instead of affording a market for our manufactures, it was designed as a cloak for transplanting the principles of Versailles to England." He wrote Mr. Pitt several letters on the subject, but receiving no satisfactory answer, he went to his house in Downing-street, upon the 2d November, 1786, and told him, " if he did not produce a true copy of the Treaty in

enough to believe them sincere, and raised them to places of the highest trust and emolument. They, however, no sooner began to taste the sweets of office, than their tone was changed into *loyalty, church, and king*. The republication of the same pamphlet which brought them into place, has sent Holt to Newgate for two years. When it was observed by his Counsel, that the above-mentioned statesmen were the original authors and publishers, and that what was reckoned a virtue in 1782, could not be deemed a crime now ; the Judge replied, with a great deal of *sung froid*, " the times are altered." See Holt's VINDICATION, 8vo. 2s. 6d.

“ the French language, as Messrs. Rayneval and Eden had signed it, he should have the abstracts, with the letters of Pitt, and Elliot, put into the hands of Guy Faux, and burnt in different parts of London and Westminster.” Lord George, and *burning*, were sounds not agreeable to the Minister, and the Treaty was immediately given up. They who have attended to the politics of the present reign can best tell if Lord George mistook the spirit of the times. If the Cabinet really had the good of the people at heart, why violate the Treaty in 1793, when it was about to be useful to us? Does the commerce of a Nation depend upon the pageantry of a King? Or are the interests of millions to be sacrificed to the caprices of a Court? Banish the delusion!*

Lord George likewise wrote a variety of papers upon finance; and distributed them amongst the Jews in England and Holland—he knew that as long as Ministers could borrow with facility, the war system would never cease; what they cannot accomplish by valour, they will attempt to achieve by gold, and his design was to shew the incapacity of them all to pay; every government in Europe (in his opinion) being on the eve of bankruptcy. He maintained that “ the gold and silver in England did not exceed twenty millions sterling, and as there were more than two hundred millions of paper in circulation amongst us, admit-

* In July, 1789, when the Royalists had bought up all the provisions, and caused a great famine in France, the National Assembly applied to our Cabinet for 20,000 sacks of corn; and they were refused them under the pretence of occasioning a scarcity at home. In 1793-4-5, when thousands of our Spitalfield weavers are obliged to live upon *raw cabbage and roots*, and when above two millions of our countrymen are reduced to the greatest possible distress, our Ministry are transporting our provisions every day to the Continent. To solve this apparent inconsistency, it is only necessary to observe, that the first request was made by the *swinish multitude*, and the last is designed to support a gang of foreign *russians*, fighting against the liberties of mankind.

“ting, for the sake of hypothesis, that the different banks
 “possessed all the bullion in the nation, it was clear they
 “could not pay two shillings in the pound.” I am not able
 to determine if his calculations be correct; but as they have
 never been refuted, it must be allowed that paper is ex-
 tremely precarious: for all the banks, not even excepting
 that of England, have launched into the regions of specula-
 tion; and we have experienced the misfortunes that the
 country adventurers have brought upon the public. In
 France the national faith is pledged for their assignats; in
 England we have little more to depend on than the probity
 of individuals. The profits of commerce are uncertain, and
 the contracts of Courts still more so; but the wealth of a
Republic consists in the number of its inhabitants, and the
 security they can give, *the whole territory they possess*.*

Lord George, who was constitutionally religious, had ac-
 quired a serious, contemplative turn of thinking, and
 though he abhorred the detestable usurpation of Cromwell,
 he admired the means by which he deposed the despotic
 Stuarts. He believed that religion has a very great influ-
 ence upon the actions of men, and was ever firmly per-
 suaded that nothing operates so powerfully on the minds of
 the people, as the hopes and fears of future rewards and
 punishments.† He was well versed in the history of the
 Protectorship; his language, his manners, and customs
 were strongly tainted with the characteristics of that age.
 He always talked respectfully of the Commonwealth, re-
 gretted the Restoration, and seemed to have our republican
 ancestors constantly in his view.

* See Smith's *Wealth of Nations*.

† The conduct of the modern French does not prove his ignorance of human
 nature: if they have renounced the worship of images and monsters, they still adore
 reason and virtue.

He had long entertained serious doubts concerning the truths of Christianity, and observed "that its professors were both at variance with revelation and reason; whilst the Jews literally adhered to the laws of Moses." He embraced Judaism. Had he, like many others, merely declined attendance at places of public worship, or tacitly favoured the religion of Nature, it would have occasioned no surprise; but it was surely matter of wonder to see a man of his genius and information attach himself to a system so fatal to his designs, and more intricate than that which he had renounced: nor is there a similar example in Great Britain, since the days of the eccentric Montague. To this unreasonable and imprudent step must be attributed his future degradation; for it was literally signing his political death. Nothing could have given greater satisfaction at St. James's, nor have tended more to estrange the affection of the people. A thousand idle stories were trumpeted up, and all the ministerial engines set in motion. He who had equally braved the threats and allurements of Courts, was represented by some as hypocritical, turbulent, and ambitious; whilst others imputed his conversion to mental derangement.

The Jews have been the outcasts of society for more than two thousand years, nor is there a Christian nation that has not sported with their blood. Persecution never makes proselytes; and instead of renouncing their prejudices, they have become more and more rivetted to them. They are a separate society, and bound by their laws to intermarry among themselves. Exclusion has fixed them in a state of warfare with the whole world, and this accounts for their apparent selfish disposition. Resistance to oppression is the first law of nature, the remedy of man against tyrants; and whilst the Jews are harassed with cruel impositions, they will endeavour to evade them by cunning and deceit. What

at first was the effect of injustice, appears to be natural, and thus the oppression of tyrants stamps the character of a whole people. Misfortune is pictured in their countenance, and for many ages there has not been a single example of sublime genius among the *brethren*. The glorious revolution of France has at last restored to them their long usurped rights; and, without the spirit of prophecy, we will venture to predict, that before half a century elapses, the distinction between Jews and Believers will be totally forgotten in that fortunate land. Priests may talk about miracles, and fanatics may continue to count their beads; but till the reign of liberty and equality, agreeably with their true principles, is established on the earth, that millenium will be looked for in vain.

Nature designed all mankind to live as brethren; but, according to the modern vocabulary, even the word patriotism indicates a contracted mind. To improve the powers of mind and body, it is necessary that man should be transplanted from soil to soil, and intermarry with people of different latitudes. Our legislators have been very attentive to improve their breed of horses and of hounds, and the vegetable *kingdom* also derives advantages from transmutation: without this happy change, our apples would become crabs, and our wheat would degenerate into rye. Shall man, then, be excepted from this universal law of nature? And shall we stupidly approve what we dare not put in practice? Shall monks and friars still continue to insult our judgment with impunity, by talking of natural enemies, and rival nations? And shall our Universities dare to teach any other emulation than that of science and philanthropy? It has been my lot to be educated in the school of prejudice, where we are taught to despise our neighbours, and to rejoice in their murder and destruction; to concenter all the gifts of nature within ourselves; but thanks to Heaven, the clouds

of superstition are passing away—the pedagogues of tyrants may again attempt to preach passive obedience, or to clank the chains of despotism in my ears ; but my resolution is taken, and they shall never make me act unworthy of a man. The die is cast, and if we cannot conquer, for my own part at least, I will bequeath to posterity an example how they ought to die.

Lord George had long endeavoured to rouse the drooping spirit of his countrymen to a sense of their danger ; but their ancient courage had deserted them—the descendants of those who had repelled with success the all-conquering arms of Rome, and driven with disgrace both the Danes and Saxons from their rocky shores, have degenerated into pensioners, excisemen, and mercenary soldiers. A nation whom steel could never subdue, has fallen a sacrifice to cruel laws. Their tame submission, and slavish dependence on men in power, had soured his temper, and men in this state of mind, from sympathy, generally love to associate with victims of persecution. When we meet with disappointment in this world, we are apt to look up for consolation in another. Perhaps he hoped to give celebrity to his favourite scheme of finance by embracing Judaism ; perhaps he expected to have led back the Israelites to their *fathers' land* ; for I have heard him frequently repeat the following prophecy : “ Behold the days come, saith the Lord, that I will raise unto David a righteous branch, and they shall no more say, the Lord liveth, which brought up the children of Israel out of the land of Egypt ; but the Lord liveth, which brought up, and which led the seed of the house of Israel out of the *North Country*, and from all countries whither I had driven them ; and they shall dwell in their own land.” Perhaps his conviction arose from internal evidence ; or perhaps he chose rather to be considered as the *leader* of the *Jews*, than

the humble *disciple* of *Jesus*. But whether one or all of these motives had any influence upon his conduct, I must confess, though I have talked a thousand times with him upon the subject, I was never able to discover. I am certain it did not answer his expectations, and have many reasons for supposing that if he had been released from his dungeon, the same motives that made him alter his religion would have been powerful enough to have operated a second change.

It was no sooner universally believed that he had embraced Judaism, than the Courts of Versailles and London determined to prosecute him; the one, for the paragraphs on the Bastille, and the other for the pamphlet on Botany Bay.

On his trial he intended to have employed his cousin Mr. Erskine, who had acquired great *clat* by his defence of him, in 1780; but this illustrious champion of the *liberty of the press* had previously received a general retaining fee, on the part of the Crown. Distrusting the profession, he resolved, therefore, to plead his own cause. His defence was bold and manly; he declared that the Botany Bay petition was written with a view to call the attention of the people to the rigour of our penal code; and as what he had advanced was not only agreeable to *scripture*, but had met with the approbation of the wisest men in all ages, it was impossible to construe it into a crime.

He prayed the Court to put off the prosecution which had been instituted against him by the Queen of France, until he could summon the Duke of Dorset, who had been Ambassador at Paris, and Mrs. Fitzherbert, &c. as exculpatory evidence; but though he had a fair and unquestionable right to this delay, a delay which had seldom, if ever, been refused to the vilest criminal, his request was rejected. As

the decisions of our Courts are generally directed by precedent, the public will easily perceive that the injury he sustained by this refusal, was fatal to the liberties of his country. The Attorney General opened the case by a long exordium on the virtues of the "*most high, mighty, and puissant Maria Antoinette, a great and illustrious princess, eminently distinguished and renowned for her wisdom, prudence, justice, clemency, chastity, and every other royal virtue.*" To this rhapsody of technical nonsense, Lord George replied, with a smile, that "every body knew that the Queen of France was a very *convenient* lady." I will not insult common sense by repeating the venal jargon of crown lawyers. Lord George's defence, resting merely on the merits of unsophisticated truths, availed nothing, and the Jury brought in a verdict *Guilty*.

Lord George bowed respectfully to the Court, and retired; though he had experienced a great alteration in the disposition of the people towards him, since his conversion to Judaism, it was still doubtful if Government would judge it prudent to punish him; and this accounts for the very extraordinary circumstance of his being permitted to withdraw without bail, after a verdict of guilt had been pronounced against him. Thinking it dangerous to continue in England, and being advised to avoid, if possible, the storm, he resolved to go to Holland; but no sooner was his departure known, than the officers of *justice* flew to his house in Welbeck-street, and though his servants offered them the keys, they broke open the doors, destroyed his furniture, and committed every desperate outrage.

Upon his arrival in Holland he was immediately surrounded by all the principal Revolutionists: both Dutch and foreigners crowded to see him; some from curiosity, and others from his professing principles congenial to their own.

But the Court of Versailles perceiving that his stay in Holland would prove fatal to their criminal designs, commanded their Ambassador, the Marquis de Verne, to endeavour to bribe the magistrates of Amsterdam, and prevail upon them to order Lord George to quit their territory in twenty-four hours. Money prevailed—the ancient spirit of Belgium was no more: commerce had contracted, corrupted the channels of patriotisim. There was a time when no agent of despotism dared to have made such a base proposal; but, alas! Dutch patriotisim is of late degenerated into a phlegmatic stupidity, only to be roused by the advantages of mercenary calculation: they determine upon every thing according to the quantity of gold and silver it is likely to produce.

Every liberty is now to be bought and sold upon the *Exchange* of Amsterdam; and the conquerors of Philip the Second, and of the fanatics of Madrid; have themselves been conquered by the all-powerful corrupter, the gold of vanquished distant colonies! but the spirit sleepeth, it is not dead—Belgia shall revive, and participate in the general happy regeneration that is now preparing for us all!

In the moment of his setting off, the Burgomaster visited him in apparent confusion, regretted the necessity of his departure, and proposed Antwerp as a convenient and safe retreat. Lord George knew the fate he had to expect in the dominions of the Emperor, and prudently declined: he was afterwards assured that this pretended friendship of the Burgomaster was a state manœuvre; for a guard was prepared to seize him the moment he should reach the Austrian Netherlands, and to convey him to the interior of Germany. There he would have suffered every torture which rage and disappointed ambition could inflict, or he would have been privately murdered by the satellites of German despotism.

The magistrates of Amsterdam, at the request of his friends, sent a guard with him to Harwich, where he arrived upon the 22d of July, 1787. He retired *incog.* to Birmingham, and he resided at the house of a Jew, disguised by a long beard and a broad shaded hat, after the Polish fashion. He strictly adhered to the religious ceremonies of his new brethren, underwent the *holy operation of circumcision*, and was called by the name of *Israel Abraham George Gordon*; but though he was much admired by many of his associates, and looked upon by some as a *second Moses*, he was not allowed to enjoy repose; for his landlord, like another *Judas*, betrayed him for *thirty pieces of silver*, and he was apprehended by Macmanus on the 7th of December, and conducted a prisoner to London. Upon the 28th of January, 1788, he was brought up to the Court of King's Bench, when he was sentenced to an imprisonment in Newgate for the space of five years, and at the expiration of which to pay a fine of 500l. and to find securities for his good behaviour for fourteen years, himself in 10,000l. and two sureties in 2500l. each.

He was accordingly conveyed to Newgate, and lodged among the common felons, confined in a cold gloomy apartment, secured with bolts and iron bars, where the sun can never penetrate, and where, so humid is the atmosphere, that you breathe with difficulty, and the stones are thence covered with a green crust. *There*, as a patriotic writer* eloquently describes, on one side, sensibility sheds a benignant, unavailing tear over hundreds of young unhappy females, many the deserted victims of brutal lust, cast for transportation, some for seven years, some for fourteen, and others for their natural life; lost to society, cut off thus early from the enjoyments of the world, blaspheming their

* See Pigott's Treachery no Crime, or the System of Courts.

God, piercing the very walls with their shrieks, and imprecating curses on their merciless, unrelenting persecutors. On another, we behold a band of ferocious felons, rendered cruel from oppression, sacrificed to want, ignorance, and temptation, clashing their chains, and grinding their teeth in anguish, resentment, and despair. In one melancholy secluded spot, we behold the solitary dungeon, where the patient sacrifice, condemned to die, in calm resignation awaits the dire execution of inexorable law. In another quarter, we view numberless insolvent debtors, groaning in hopeless misery, abandoned to the caprice and malice of relentless, disappointed creditors.

In this wretched abode, innocence itself can find no repose, for day and night there is one continued noise ; and groans, intermixed with ribaldry and blasphemy, aggravate the horrors of the dismal scene. The victims of cruel laws are there condemned to exist upon bread and water ; to lie, without cloathing, on the damp stone floor, crammed together like a herd of swine. How often have they been heard to curse their fate, and implore their unhappy companions to put a period to their days ! Did our legislators witness their distress, even they would feel compassion ; but, alas ! they never visit the mansions of woe which they themselves have raised. Gambling, dissipation, and nocturnal orgies engross their time, till they become callous to humanity, make no distinction between misfortune and vice, and finish their career without having once known the luxury (the only luxury with which they are unacquainted) of doing good.

Soon after his imprisonment, the cabinet, either affecting to appear lenient, or judging it politic to soothe his friends, signified, through the medium of his brother, that the *royal clemency* would be extended to him, provided he

made a public recantation of his opinions, and promised to remain quiet in future; but he scouted the *insidious proposal*, and replied, with honest indignation, that “to sue for pardon was a confession of guilt; that his public conduct should never disgrace the principles he had espoused; and that *the tender mercies of the wicked were cruelties.*”

Though confined to a dungeon, his mind was not inactive: if kings and priests were determined to persecute him, he was resolved, on his part, never to cease from exposing their follies and their crimes; the contest proved unequal, and it was easy to foresee that it would never terminate but with the life of the noble democrat.

In the year 1788, when the sacred flame of liberty, which is one day destined to illumine the world, was making rapid progress in France, and when the arbitrary edicts of Louis, like the late decisions of our *courts of justice*, were found ineffectual to restrain the democratic rage, the infamous Calonne, like his brother P***, resolved to transfer the public attention from the errors of his administration, to the false glory of foreign conquests. Fomenting a civil war in Holland, he reminds me of the pickpocket, who, when in danger of detection, pointed at a harmless passenger, and exclaimed “*stop the thief!*” The bait, however, had a temporary effect; and, whilst the balance of fate seemed to hang in dubious suspense, it was resolved that Pitt should promise every support to the Stadtholder, whilst the Court of Versailles, playing a similar game, alternately buoyed up and depressed the hopes of the disaffected Dutch. There never was a serious intention of going to war in either cabinet, but it was politic to divert the public mind, and as some plausible pretext was necessary to justify a public robbery, this was deemed an excellent plea for an armament,

and fresh taxes; a glorious opportunity of providing for *beggarly cousins and unprincipled dependents.**

Lord George was a rational, but inveterate enemy to Courts; he had coolly and dispassionately examined their proceedings, and found them always at variance with their declarations. Though they affect to pay deference to religion, and make virtue and morality their constant theme, yet they treat them with contempt behind the curtain; and those very wretches who lately pretended to take up arms in support of the Catholic religion, in la Vendee; but, in reality, to re-instate themselves in their former usurpations, at the expense of every thing virtuous and good, heretofore declared, when in company with some of our *devout peers*, who are now cauting about the impiety of the French, "that religion was an excellent imposition for enslaving the people; but that they themselves believed there was no God."† Such pious declarations have been peculiar to the privileged orders in every age: and such were the motives that induced Lord George to suspect every thing that took its origin in Courts. He was wont to say, that "the best proof of the good sense of his countrymen, was their selling their King for a groat;" and he gave it as his opinion, that before the end of the present century, "the whole corps of ***** jockies would not fetch half that money."

Lord George wrote several letters to Admiral Kingfisher, who commanded the Dutch fleet at Portsmouth, def-

* During the American war, Lord George used to reside frequently at the Marquis of Rockingham's, who affected to be the people's friend. Upon his being appointed Prime Minister, Lord George reminded him of his promise, and said the best way of serving the people, was to lessen their taxes, and abolish the sinecure places—the Marquis hesitated; and, upon Lord George's pressing the matter, replied, that "*the whole system was so corrupt, that without bribery and secret service money, it was impossible to carry on the business of Government for a single day.*"

* See Stanhope's Speech in the House of Lords, Feb. 23, 1794.

ained to act, in conjunction with the English, against France, explaining the motives of the armament, and assuring him that nothing was more foreign to the intention of the different cabinets, than war; he intreated the Dutch to settle their difference without the interference of treacherous allies; and insinuated that the Prince of Orange himself was nothing more than the secret agent of their enemies—that every thing respecting Holland was already determined between the Courts of London and Versailles; and that nothing remained for the Dutch, but to return home with a good grace.

These letters were communicated to the States General, and the Dutch Ambassador at London; and after various consultations, the Admiral left England apparently dissatisfied. The Dutch Ambassador's lady waited upon Lord George in Newgate, thanked him for the information he had given, and assured him that they had profited by his advice. Calonne, partly from the increasing commotions at home, and partly from his intrigues being discovered in Holland, left the Revolutionists in a *most princely manner*, to shift for themselves; and Pitt enjoyed in secret triumph his too successful manœuvre, in furnishing matter for the coffee-house politicians, and providing for his *minions*, at the expense of the nation.

He addressed a memorial to the friends of liberty, in which he exposes the cruelty and jesuitical designs of his enemies, and prophetically foretels the *royal crusade* against the liberties of man. He deplores the wretched situation of a well-meaning, but deluded people, and assures them, that without virtue and resolution on their part, the iron age of despotism was about to re-commence its reign; he declares that he will never abandon the cause of freedom, nor flatter the vices of men in power; “though he had
“ been, for a long time, persecuted, and hunted like a

“partridge on the mountains, by the particular command
“of the *house of Hanover*, and was now shut up among
“thieves and murderers in Newgate.” This conduct, continued he, had made his name and desires known almost over the whole world, and opened a correspondence with societies and individuals, entertaining the same views, in the surrounding nations; and by the mutual interchanges of publications, free thoughts, and essays upon the civil and religious settlements of various governments, and the general candour and inquiry after truth, which prevails among the people, he had been made acquainted with the sentiments of many virtuous and well-intentioned Revolutionists of every denomination. He had constantly exerted the influence which this perseverance and public situation had procured, in Europe, Asia, Africa, and America, wherever his correspondence had required it; and although this influence was of such a nature, that it had not yet been in his power to serve, or even secure himself and his friends, at all times, from insults and persecutions, yet it had often been anxiously sought for, by many, in their distresses, from different countries, and was still dreaded by their proud *rulers*, who knew very well that no consideration on earth could prevail on him to support the cruelties and tyranny of any civil and religious establishments, Bastiles, or Inquisitions. And it was a consolation to reflect, that among many encouraging instances where this influence had already been applied by him, with success, against oppression and injustice, the American war might be enumerated: the relief of the Athol Highlanders at Portsmouth—the subversion of the false Patriots in Holland—the increasing opposition to the payment of tythes to the clergy—and the recent declaration of war against the Emperors of Russia by the Sublime Porte, &c. &c. In all which cases, the secret leaders of the parties are both deter-

mined and resolved, neither to be bought off nor intimidated. He concluded by assuring them, in the energetic language of truth, that liberty was proscribed from the cabinets of Europe, that an old alliance had been renewed between church and state, and that their *slaves* were about to deluge the world with blood.

Ever since his confinement in Newgate, he had been visited by Britons of every description, and by foreigners from every quarter of the globe; the *Jews* looked upon him as a second *Moses*, and fondly hoped he was designed by Providence to lead them back to their fathers' land: but though he was liberal to others of a different way of thinking, and freely associated with *infidels* of every denomination, provided their religious tenets did not interfere with civil liberty, yet, as he conformed to all the outward ceremonies of the *ancient fathers* himself, he expected the same conformity from those who professed a similar faith. This practice, to which he invariably adhered, induced him to refuse admittance to all those Jews, who, in compliance with the modern customs, shaved their beards and uncovered their heads.

Though I am no apologist for religious sectaries, I can admire consistency. When certain *prelates*, whilst they pretend to be the *ministers of peace*, exceed even tyrants in their sanguinary and destructive counsels, the mind revolts with horror from such an infamous fraternity; but when we see men, in defiance of custom, act up to their profession, from a consciousness of right, though contrary to their worldly interest, although we may be slow to approve, we should not be hasty to condemn. To those who consider the *Bible* as the only *revealed religion*, this conduct will appear consistent; nor will the philosopher be ever able to reconcile the practice of *churchmen*, in deviating from what they *affect* to value more than *gold or silver*, until he disco-

ver that the grand object of their desires is the possession of *wealth*.

In a political sense, however, Lord George's compliance with the laws of Moses proved fatal to his interest—the rich Jews saw him no more—and as he had demonstrated that their customs were contrary to the *law* and the *prophets*, they, in revenge, adopted the ministerial cant of *insanity*, *phrenzy*, &c. The Polish and Turkish Jews still came to see him in great numbers; but, as they have little or no education, their prejudices are strong, and their information extremely local. They, in general, understand *barter*, and excel in separating and refining metals; but, with few exceptions, they studiously avoid all political subjects, and conclude their arguments with the favourite topic “*money*.”

Nothing is more certain than that the Almighty designed mankind to live comfortably and happy; to have peopled the world without furnishing provisions for its inhabitants, would argue the greatest cruelty: yet ever since the beginning of time, man has groaned under the heaviest oppressions; and the earth, instead of furnishing the comforts of life, seemed to have produced little else than crimes and misery. The sufferings of the human race had almost exhausted his patience, and taught him to look upon his fellow-creatures as beasts of prey. Instead of relieving the distressed, and fraternising with the stranger, the very ideas of humanity were extinguished, and the most ferocious avarice became their ruling passion. To what shall we impute this savage barbarity? Shall we accuse Nature? No; we will never arraign the majesty of Heaven. It was owing to the coalition of church and state, which seized the productions of the soil, and imposed upon the understanding to such a degree, that millions believed they were ordained by Providence to administer to the luxuries

of those who have ever delighted in blood and slaughter, and stained the earth with human gore.

But upon the immortal 14th of July, 1789, a day which gave new life to man, the pillars of superstition were shaken by the capture of the Bastile, and the thunderbolt of reason hurled despotism from its throne. Man, after ages of proscription, was restored to his original importance in the scale of beings. The prisoners were freed from their shackles, and the day of universal redemption seemed to be at hand. The glad tidings flew like lightning from pole to pole, and the most distant nations participated in the joyful event. Even the solitary tenants in Newgate seemed to forget their misfortunes, and anticipated in imagination the approaching millennium. Nothing could have given greater satisfaction to Lord George, who was suffering all the horrors of a goal, for *his attack* upon the Bastile. It was likewise a preliminary step to the overthrow of that imperious woman, to whose intrigues, in part, he had fallen a victim; it was more, it was a step to universal emancipation: he therefore sent the following petition to the National Assembly:

“ To the National Assembly of France.

“ The Petition of Lord GEORGE GORDON,

“ Humbly sheweth,

“ That a sentence of two years imprisonment among the
 “ felons and transported convicts in Newgate, with a fine
 “ of five hundred pounds sterling, and fifteen thousand
 “ pounds security for fourteen years to come, have been
 “ passed upon your petitioner, for a publication in favour
 “ of liberty in France, in which the name of the Queen,
 “ le Comte de Breteuil, and le Marquis de Launey were
 “ mentioned, as a party supporting arbitrary power, *lettres*
 “ *de cachet*, and the Bastile.

“ That this publication was made with a view to succour
 “ the oppressed, and from the best information, which he
 “ received from several of the nobility and gentlemen of
 “ France, who were in London at the time of the publica-
 “ tion, who requested your petitioner’s assistance in the
 “ the cause of freedom.

“ That your petitioner has received great satisfaction in
 “ the midst of his sufferings, in finding that the good peo-
 “ ple of France have hitherto succeeded in their endeavours
 “ to regenerate their constitution ; and he prays to the Al-
 “ mighty to crown your patriotic exertions with liberty and
 “ peace.

“ The request, therefore, of your petitioner, is, that
 “ your most honourable Assembly, in your wisdom and
 “ sympathy, will apply to the Court of London to relieve
 “ your petitioner from the above-mentioned sentence and
 “ imprisonment.

“ G. GORDON.”

Felons’ Side, Newgate Prison,

London, July 23, 1789.

Liberty owes much to the first Assembly of France; and when compared to most governments in Europe, they appear to be more than mortals ; yet, as *mother church* had found means to infuse her deadly poison into the body politic, some of the old *leaven* now and then predominated. That men should sometimes soar above the prejudices of the age, and at other times sacrifice justice and humanity to etiquette ; that they should, in one instance, break the chains of despotism ; and, in another, rivet them more firmly than ever, may appear to persons not in the habit of reflection, unaccountable and strange ; but it is nothing else than a natural struggle between superstition and reason, between self-interest and universal good : and that the National Assembly were frequently fettered in their proceed-

ings by these contending passions, will appear undeniable from Gregoire's reply :

“ Paris, 24th February, 1790.

“ Sir,

“ Annexed you will find the opinion of the Committee
 “ of Reports of the National Assembly. I have been un-
 “ able to answer you sooner, because at the time you wrote
 “ to the Assembly, and when I was one of its secretaries, it
 “ could not take cognizance of any particular business, and
 “ had not then appointed a Committee of Reports. Your
 “ papers, in the mean time, were deposited among the
 “ archives. M. le President having received your last let-
 “ ter, and communicated it to the present acting Committee
 “ of Reports, of which I am president, the Committee
 “ ordered your former letters to be produced, and upon the
 “ examination of them, which one of its Members has
 “ made, the Committee, upon his report, have determined
 “ that as you are a foreigner, and detained in the prisons of
 “ England, it would be improper to deliberate upon the
 “ subject. Be assured, Sir, that I have greatly interested
 “ myself in your request, and that I am sincerely grieved,
 “ as well as the gentlemen of the Committee of Reports,
 “ at our inability to serve you.

“ Believe me, with the most sincere attachment,

“ Sir,

“ Your very humble and very obedient servant,

“ GREGOIRE.”

“ Sir,

“ The Committee of Reports of the National Assembly
 “ having taken into consideration your last letter, and those
 “ of prior date, which you have addressed to the Assembly,
 “ were of opinion that there was no ground for deliberating
 “ on your request ; and that being a foreigner, and detained

“ in the prisons of England, you should apply for redress
 “ to the tribunal of that kingdom, that is able to afford it
 “ to you.

“ I have the honour to be, Sir,

“ Yours, &c.

“ GREGOIRE.”

*Lord George Gordon, in the prison
 of Newgate, in England.*

Paris, Feb. 24, 1790.

Upon the receipt of the above, Lord George immediately returned the following answer :

“ *To Mr. President Gregoire, and the Members of the Com-
 “ mittee of Reports of the National Assembly, at Paris.*

“ Gentlemen,

“ I had the honour to receive your letter, containing the
 “ report of the Committee, dated the 24th of February,
 “ under the new great seal of the nation ; and it is my duty
 “ to acknowledge with gratitude the condescension which
 “ the National Assembly have shewn, by receiving my pe-
 “ tition, and referring it, even in the midst of their most
 “ important deliberations, to the examination and opinion
 “ of your Committee. This attention and politeness of the
 “ National Assembly will never be effaced from my memory.
 “ I petitioned with confidence in their friendship, and you
 “ have answered me in terms of affection. The very obli-
 “ ging expressions which accompany your report, persuade
 “ me of the particular good wishes of the members of your
 “ Committee, and induce me to believe that you will con-
 “ sider with candour the remarks which I presume to make
 “ on your report, and then communicate them to the Na-
 “ tional Assembly.

“ Your Committee, you inform me, having taken cog-
 “ nizance of my petition, were of opinion that they had no

“ room to deliberate, because I am a stranger, and detained
“ in an English prison.

“ What, Gentlemen! are the powers of France diminished under the National Assembly and the new constitution? Has the arm of your Monarch become withered in the department of *foreign affairs*, in the very moment of regeneration?

“ Would not the Marquis de la Luzerne, the present French Ambassador, obey the commands of the King and your Assembly, to solicit the Court of London to release me, on your behalf, as willingly and with as much propriety as M. Barthelemy, at the suit of M. de Breteuil and the Bastille partisans, applied to the Court of London to imprison me? Or is the Duke of Gordon's brother intended to be made an example to the Courts of Europe of the want of power in the National Assembly to shew mercy and deliverance, by the same medium of the Court of London, through which M. de Breteuil had interest to oppress and persecute? But perhaps the Court of London do not acknowledge the powers of the National Assembly and the new constitution, in the official line of the *corps diplomatique*! Perhaps M. Barthelemy may still continue to be the Chargé d'Affaires of the Breteuil and Polignac parties! And if this be the case, which I have too much reason to apprehend, I must still resign myself to suffer with patience! We have heard, indeed, of the Duke of Orleans taking the civic oath in London, to be true and faithful to your Assembly; but we have not yet been informed either of the Marquis de la Luzerne or M. Barthelemy taking the civic oath, receiving their new credentials, or being ceremonially introduced to announce your new constitution and powers to the King of England. They remain here as yet, unhappily for me, appointed, connected, and instructed by the Minister that

“existed when tyranny was in its full force in your
“country.

“The King and Queen of France, *now that they are both*
“*so sincerely attached to the National Assembly, and have so*
“*solemnly declared their intentions to educate the Dauphin in*
“*the principles of the new constitution,* ought not to be sus-
“pected of still favouring and protecting the measures of
“M. de Breteuil, in a secret manner, through the media-
“tion of his instruments at the Court of London. It would
“be ungenerous in me to insinuate such suspicions against
“their Majesties—I do not desire to awaken fresh alarms
“in the minds of your Assembly ; but I remonstrate with
“that sincerity and ingeniousness which the injuries I have
“received from the Court of Versailles, under the admini-
“stration of M. de Breteuil, entitle me to make use of.

“It still remains with the National Assembly to do me
“the justice to endeavour to relieve me. The ears of Eu-
“rope are fixed upon your proceedings in this case, and let
“it not be said that you have deserted your friend in his
“calamity, and turned away your eyes from his petition.
“You now sleep in safety in your beds, free from the ter-
“rors of the Bastille, and the *lettres de cachet*, to disturb
“you ; and can you, without emotion, suffer me to be
“locked up with murderers and transports in Newgate, for
“two years to come, and to pay a fine of five hundred
“pounds sterling, and find security for fifteen thousand
“pounds for fourteen years, in consequence of the orders
“of M. de Breteuil to M. Barthelemy, to prosecute me
“for my exertions against his cruel exercise of those en-
“gines of despotism, in the cause of one of your present
“members, the Prince Louis de Rohan ?

“The report of your Committee, by the affectionate
“manner in which it has been communicated, gives me a
“fair opportunity to say much more ; but I wish rather to

“ refrain, and suppress many of the arguments which might
 “ be advanced in support of my cause. I trust entirely to
 “ the discretion of the National Assembly.

“ I am not now addressing myself to the feelings of the
 “ good people of Paris, upon this very delicate subject ; I
 “ am only appealing to the equity and integrity of their
 “ new governors. I hope, therefore, Gentlemen, that
 “ you will accept this memorial as a fresh token of my re-
 “ spect for the National Assembly, of my wishes for the
 “ tranquillity of the state, and of my consideration for the
 “ character of Frenchmen.

“ Believe me, Mr. President, and Messieurs the Mem-
 “ bers of the Committee of Reports, with the most sincere
 “ attachment,

“ Your most humble and most obedient servant,

Newgate Prison,

“ G. GORDON.”

London, March, 1790.

The republican members of the Assembly were very much struck with this remonstrance ; they detailed his sufferings in all the patriotic journals, and Pigott, the philanthropist, wrote a pamphlet in his favour.

As it is an etiquette amongst the Courts of Europe to receive nothing officially in time of peace, from a foreign country, unless it come from the executive power, Lord George was advised by his Parisian correspondents, to request Louis, under the title of the restorer of liberty, to apply to the Court of London in his favour. . They assured him that matters should be so arranged in Paris, that Louis could not refuse his sanction : and “ if the King of Great
 “ Britain should refuse to set him at liberty, it would still
 “ serve the *common cause*, by making the *fountain of mercy*
 “ *itself suspected.*” In consequence of this advice, Lord George wrote to Louis, who received his petition with af-

fested joy, and promised immediate relief: afterwards, however, he had several conferences with Lord Gower, his Britannic Majesty's Minister at Versailles, on the subject, and it was agreed that he should not be liberated. But as Louis was under more restraint than the British monarch, it became necessary to make a formal application at St. James's; and to acquaint Lord George, by his Ambassador, with his extreme sorrow, that his request had not succeeded. Such pitiful shuffling would disgrace a gang of pickpockets; and yet to such pitiful shufflers did Lord George fall a victim!

In the foregoing Memoirs it has appeared, that Erskine owes his success, in a great measure, to his defence of Lord George; and Fox was undoubtedly obliged to him for his exertions at the Westminster Election; but in the year 1791, when Luxford, one of the opposition scribblers, wrote a libel on the government of France, the politics of the party appeared in their proper light; which produced the following letter from Lord George to the Speaker of the House of Commons:

“ SIR,

“ THE ticklish state of the press having become the subject of parliamentary interference, with a view to reduce
 “ the matter to some degree of certainty, we may presume
 “ that the moment is now come when it may be permitted
 “ to use the privilege, in moderation, to write our sentiments on the late debate; and to help the further discussion of the merits or demerits of the *bill* in agitation.

“ The various cases, decisions, and reports on the subject of libels, are so contradictory to each other, and almost all of them to equity and justice, that they sufficiently prove the necessity of a specific law, clear and well defined, to secure the liberty of the press.

“ But what security to the press, what specific, clear,
 “ and well-defined law can be expected from the *motion*
 “ lately carried in the House of Commons? Mr. Fox sup-
 “ ported it upon one principle, and Mr. Erskine seconded
 “ it upon a direct contrary one. One argued from parti-
 “ cular to general propositions; the other from general to
 “ particular; which will render it impossible to form a bill
 “ to justify both their opinions, and satisfy both sides of the
 “ house. The decree on the mulattoes lately passed at
 “ Paris, and which has given such universal disgust, both
 “ to the blacks and to the whites, is a seasonable example
 “ to your honourable members, to avoid any thing of a
 “ double controversial Janus-faced measure on the doctrine
 “ of libels.

“ Mr. Fox was in fact the only member who stated any
 “ specific grievance. He founded all his arguments on the
 “ case of Luxford, the proceedings against whom he con-
 “ demned, as *most inordinately severe*; and of course, we
 “ may suppose, as he was one of the members ordered to
 “ prepare and bring in the bill, that he has drawn it up in
 “ such a manner as to prevent similar *most inordinately severe*
 “ proceedings against any other citizen, which will be a
 “ direct, though tacit condemnation of the laws, as of late
 “ executed; and unless Mr. Fox has so prepared the bill,
 “ he will do nothing to relieve and redress the grievance
 “ upon which his argument, on the case of Luxford, is
 “ founded.

“ Mr. Erskine, on the contrary, approved and supported
 “ the whole proceedings against Luxford; and avowed
 “ that if he himself were promoted, at present, to be a
 “ Judge in the Court of King’s Bench, he would be bound
 “ to accede to all the precedents, and to administer the law
 “ in the same manner in which it was administered by Lord
 “ Mansfield and the present Judges, as strictly congenial to

“ the principles of the constitution, *however inclination or common sense might lead him to think otherwise.*

“ This illustrious orator was pleased also to communicate to the house, his prescription to his patients labouring under the disease of libels: *he often (he said) advised his clients to take a dose of laudanum, rather than to prosecute; to take no notice of the libel, to strive to get the better of their feelings, and to let the slander die away.*” And perhaps it may be ascribed to the very accommodating virtue of this *laudanum*, that he has been enabled to expunge and get the better of his own *senatorial memory*, in the case of *Lord George Gordon*; for, *in his character of barrister, he is always obliged to remember to be against him: as he said himself to an attorney who applied to him on the prosecution of the Queen of France commencing against his Lordship, that he had, for a long time past, received a general retaining fee on the part of the King against Gordon; and that his appearance against his Lordship, in that very cause for which the attorney wished his support, would be a proof of it—and so in truth it happened.*

“ A general retaining fee from the Crown to a barrister, cannot, however, be supposed to operate so unconstitutionally as to injure the memory of an honourable member of the House of Commons. Symptoms of forgetfulness in a *barrister*, on certain cases of libels, may appear very strong; but then it would be a most false, wicked, scandalous, and malicious libel against the *senator*, to connect, or endeavour to connect the laudanum dose of a general retaining fee, and the aforesaid strong symptoms of forgetfulness, together in his person, either by *id est, scilicet*, or other the most distant inuendoes. It surely then was nothing else but the opiate draughts which he so often administers to his clients to kill slander, to get the better of their feelings, and prevent their noticing any thing dis-

“agreeable, that have a little blotted Mr. Erskine’s note-
 “book on this famous prosecution.

“The honourable member put the house in mind *that*
 “*he had been acquainted with the bar of the Court of King’s*
 “*Bench for thirteen years ; and he could say, in truth, that*
 “*the officers who represent the Crown, conducted themselves*
 “*during that period, with moderation.* So good a charac-
 “ter of the officers who represent the Crown, given by so
 “worthy and learned a brother, would indeed be of great
 “value to them, if any trust could be placed on his memo-
 “ry ; but, alas ! where was the *boasted moderation* of the
 “Crown officer when this eloquent orator himself was
 “pleading in favour of Lord George Gordon, in 1781, and
 “declared *that his noble client was watched by wicked men,*
 “*for purposes of vengeance, and that the Crown had totally*
 “*failed in giving his behaviour such a context as could justify*
 “*in the mind of any reasonable man, the conclusion they wished*
 “*to establish.* And did he not add, personally addressing
 “himself to the Attorney General, I SAY, BY GOD, THAT
 “MAN IS A RUFFIAN.* But the same unlucky dose of
 “*laudanum*, which has so entirely obliterated the case of the
 “French libel in 1787 from his notes, has undoubtedly ope-
 “rated very powerfully in letting the slander of the ruffian-
 “like conduct of the officers of the Crown die away also
 “from his recollection and future notice.

“Mr. Erskine, however, is not to be marked alone for
 “the treachery of his memory, in the case of Lord George
 “Gordon ; for the fashionable torpedo of his laudanum
 “seems to have extended itself in the House of Commons,
 “and benumbed the memories of all the other case-reciters
 “who spoke upon the subject. It may therefore be esteem-
 “ed salutary, to jog and revive their memories a little, by

* See Mr. Erskine’s Speech, in Gurney’s State Trials.

“ a moderate and constitutional exercise of the pen, lest a
 “ general lethargy towards *equal rights* on *libels* should take
 “ root among the English members, through the increasing
 “ influence of Mr. Erskine’s opium, which, like the venom
 “ of the bite of the Italian tarantula spider, seems already to
 “ have thrown several learned gentlemen from Scotland into
 “ such a crisis of heaviness, on the doctrine of libels, that
 “ all the routine of dancing and drinking at the Duchess of
 “ Gordon’s could not agitate their memories, or awaken
 “ their feelings to the situation of their countryman in
 “ Newgate.

“ Mr. M'Donald, the Attorney General, entered like-
 “ wise into the case of Luxford, now in the King’s Bench
 “ prison, and systematically justified all the proceedings
 “ against him ; and objected to the House going into a
 “ grand Committee of Justice, as that would induce the
 “ people to believe that the conduct of the executive power
 “ and the judges, were censurable in the case of Luxford.
 “ In the seventy cases of indictments for libels, in the last
 “ thirty years, which Mr. M'Donald enumerated, to prove
 “ the lenity of the executive power, he only just let one
 “ very lenient sentence escape his memory, viz. *five years*
 “ *imprisonment among the felons in Newgate, a fine of five*
 “ *hundred pounds, and securities for fifteen thousand pounds*
 “ *more, for fourteen years to come ! ! !* A straggling case, of
 “ such little note at St. James’s, might easily be overlooked,
 “ in the enumeration of seventy indictments, by any *strag-*
 “ *gling* barrister who had not been see’d in that very cause ;
 “ but Mr. M'Donald and Mr. Erskine had both the honour
 “ of being touched upon this occasion, by the Crown,
 “ through the organ of the Solicitor of the Treasury ; and
 “ supported the prosecution in open court before Judge
 “ Buller.

“ Mr. Pitt too, following the path pointed out to him
“ by the Attorney General, objected to a grand Committee
“ of Justice, and justified the proceedings against Luxford,
“ as his libel seemed calculated to sow the seeds of discord
“ between this country and France, upon the same grounds
“ that Sir Richard Pepper Arden prosecuted Lord George
“ Gordon. But the Chancellor of the Exchequer, although
“ he paid the fees of this prosecution, had entirely forgot
“ that any such parallel case with Luxford’s existed: the
“ laudanum still triumphed, and the *unanimity* was prefer-
“ ved, by hinting at Luxford’s pardon, and by preventing
“ the introduction of the Newgate case to the consideration
“ of the House. He willingly consented to Mr. Fox’s
“ *simple motion* for leave to bring in a bill, but merely on
“ the principle, that the matter to be agitated in that bill
“ was not to reflect upon the laws, nor the present practice
“ and decisions of the Courts.

“ And Mr. Jekyll’s congratulations on the *apparent una-*
“ *nimity* of the House, must certainly have alluded merely to
“ the *simple motion* of the day, for the persons appointed to
“ prepare the bill, were as opposite from *unanimity* in their
“ principles, as it is possible to be.

“ The deliverance of Mr. Luxford seems to have been the
“ burthen of that day’s debate; and if it be procured by an
“ address to the throne from the House of Commons, or by
“ any other means, I shall be very happy to hear of it; but
“ still, if the House solicits for a pardon, his accepting it
“ will be a confession of his crime. And unless the prin-
“ ciple of that prosecution is *adhered to* by Mr. Fox, in the
“ bill he has prepared, *as inordinately severe and unjustifiable*,
“ with a view to what shall in future be the law and prac-
“ tice, (which is directly contrary to Mr. Erskine’s view of
“ the subject) nothing at all will be added by the bill to-
“ wards the better securing the liberty of the press. *The*

“ *pardon of an individual*, first involved, and then partially
 “ picked out again by Mr. Fox’s party, after the people’s
 “ expectation has been so long in labour to bring forth a
 “ PUBLIC GOOD, would be too ridiculous a *mouse* to satisfy
 “ the eagerness and cravings of our political gossips; and it
 “ might be looked upon by some, who, with Mr. Burke,
 “ regard the *blue* and *buff* reformers in the light of a *faction*,
 “ only as a sort of compounding of a *public cause* for a *per-*
 “ *sonal interest*. This unseemly conduct of the matter, to
 “ use Mr. Fox’s own simile, would be reducing the grand
 “ object of the bill, *first, from a giant to a man; and after-*
 “ *wards, from a pigmy to a non-entity!*

“ But as all manner of subtlety, fraud, and tricking, is
 “ mean, and utterly beneath men of sense and probity, we
 “ have a right to expect better things from the honourable
 “ members of the House of Commons.

“ King Solomon truly observed, that *dead flies cause the*
 “ *ointment of the apothecary to send forth a stinking savour; so*
 “ *doth a little folly him that is in reputation for wisdom and*
 “ *honour. A partial insolvent act*, to release only the blue
 “ and buff bankrupts, would be an abominably ill-scented
 “ *dead fly* in the proceedings of the *whole House of Commons*
 “ *in England*, in Parliament assembled; so doth the late
 “ *little folly* of making fish of one man, and flesh of ano-
 “ ther; of reviving Mr. Luxford from the immurement of
 “ the King’s Bench prison, and saying the burying service
 “ over Lord George Gordon in Newgate, for similar libels,
 “ cause the speeches of the reputed wise and honourable
 “ Messrs. Fox and Erskine, to send forth a *very stinking sa-*
 “ *vour of partiality.*

“ I am, Sir, your humble servant,

“ G. GORDON.”

Newgate Prison, 1791.

Luxford obtained a pardon through the medium of the Opposition ; and the other libellers, unconnected with party, were suffered to remain in gaol. Experience has proved that the bill produced no good effect ; and the temporising conduct of the Commons has induced Ministers to increase their severity beyond all former example ; for during the last twelve months a greater number have been prosecuted for state offences, than for twenty years before ; nay, even than when Star-chamber tyranny was in full force.

It has ever been the privilege of Courts to make laws for others, which they themselves disregard—Whilst every thing that is immoral was practised by the great, the Cabinet issued a proclamation, enjoining a strict observance of *God's holy law*. To give effect to any reformation, example must accompany precept ; but at the very time that the poor were fined and persecuted for their Sunday amusements, the rich were allowed to indulge themselves in all the luxuries of the season. Routs, gaming, brothels, and profane concerts are the Sunday amusements amongst our betters.

Lord George, however, expecting that the *Bench* would pay some obedience to the proclamation, advised Isabella Stewart, who was under a prosecution for theft, to take advantage of the circumstance, and plead it in mitigation of her punishment. Before sentence of death was passed upon her, she appeared perfectly composed, and made the following pointed remarks : “ That his Majesty’s gracious proclamation, as they termed it, which had been read in all
“ the courts of justice, for preventing and punishing vice
“ and immorality, recommended the observance of *God's*
“ *holy law* ; and in this law it is expressly written, that *for*

“all manner of trespass, whether it be for ox, for ass, for sheep, for raiment, or for any manner of lost thing, which another challengeth to be his, the cause of both parties shall come before the judges, and whom the judges shall condemn, he shall pay double unto his neighbour—we therefore insist, that according to the law of God, and his Majesty’s proclamation, our offences require us to pay double unto our neighbour; and not to forfeit our lives, nor be doomed to transportation to Botany Bay. We intreat the Court to remember, that cases of life and banishment are infinitely superior to cases of property only; and hope you will weigh these things in your minds, before the dreadful words that are intended to decide our fate, are pronounced upon us.” The judges were startled at this new method of defence, but shewed no mercy; and the fatal sentence of death was pronounced upon her.*

* As a proof of the equity of our courts of justice, I shall subjoin the following well known facts:—Knight and Duncombe, two members of the House of Commons, were expelled for having forged indorments on Exchequer bills; Duncombe confessed the charge, and his share of the booty had extended to *four hundred thousand pounds!* I am not informed what was the amount of Knight’s plunder, or that of several others who were concerned. The Commons, in a fit of purity, passed a bill to fine Duncombe in half of his estate. By the statute laws of England he should have suffered death. The bill for his fine was rejected in the House of Lords by the casting vote of the Duke of Leeds, and Duncombe was dismissed *with his four hundred thousand pounds in his pocket.*

A workman in London was apprehended by a press-gang; his wife and child were turned into the street by their landlord. Within a few days after, she was delivered of a second child in a garret; on her recovery, she was driven to the streets as a common beggar: she went into a shop, and attempted to carry off a small piece of linen; she was seized, tried, and condemned to be hanged. In her defence she said that she had lived creditably and happy, till a press-gang robbed her of her husband, and in him, of all means to support herself and her family; and that in attempting to clothe her new-born infant, she perhaps did wrong, as she did not, at that time, know what she did. The parish officers and other witnesses bore testimony to the truth of her avowment, but all to no purpose; she was ordered for Tyburn. *The hangman dragged his sucking infant from her breast, when he strained*

In future ages it will be matter of surprise that the people should have been so long imposed upon by hypocritical monkish farces. *Statesmen* and *priests* have been always wrangling about *justice, humanity, religion, &c.* and no class of men have ever practised them less.

Lord George bore his confinement with uncommon fortitude; he was never heard to complain. Regular in his diet, and enjoying a good state of health, he commonly rose about eight o'clock in the morning, and went to bed at eleven at night: at breakfast he read the newspapers, and then wrote his letters, or sent paragraphs to the public papers. About twelve, he generally saw company; they were frequently so numerous as to prevent their sitting down, and the room often remained crowded till nine at night. When he had no visitors, which was but seldom, he played on the violin, or amused himself with playing at ball with the other prisoners till two, when he commonly sat down to dinner; he had seldom less than six or eight at table, they were composed of all ranks, and ranged as chance directed; the Jew and the Gentile, the legislator and the labouring mechanic, the officer and the soldier, all shared alike: liberty and equality were enjoyed in their full extent, as far as Newgate would allow. The dinner was plain and simple, consisting of one or two courses: the liquor porter, or table beer, with sometimes a glass of wine. He drank nothing but porter; he dined on meat and fish alternately; this was not owing to any religious motives, but because he conceived a regular rotation most conducive

the cord about her neck. On the 13th May, 1777, Sir William Meredith mentioned this horrid circumstance in the House of Commons—"Never," said he, "was there a fouler murder committed against the law, than that of this woman by the law." Vide Political Progress.

A thousand other instances might be produced, wherein it would appear that riches never fail to give protection, while poverty alone is reckoned a disgrace.

to health. After dinner, the conversation generally turned upon politics, and though he spoke very little himself, he excelled in the art of engaging others in warm debate. This enabled him to study the passions, and to discover the weak or strong side of an argument, without appearing to be interested. About six o'clock he drank tea, and afterwards eat a little salad, and smoked his pipe before he went to bed.

A bag-piper attended him every fortnight, and he had often a large concert of music, and parties of dancing. He was partial to the Scots tunes, with *Ca ira*, and the *Mar-saillois* march. He was allowed to be an excellent judge both of instrumental and vocal music, and could perform himself on several instruments.

His musicians were, for the most part, the Duke of York's band, and other persons about the Court, whom it is not safe to name. They came sometimes in their uniform, and sometimes in disguise; but on all occasions, I have remarked them to deliver their sentiments on the present administration with great freedom. He had the greatest evenness of temper, was very modest in his discourse, and argued rather to obtain information, than to shew his superiority. He spoke the French, Italian, and German languages with great fluency, and could accommodate himself to men in every sphere of life. He was easy of access, and no man had the art of receiving the poor with a better grace; though he could not always grant their request, they never went away dissatisfied. He was very punctual in his dealings, and attentive to what the world call trifles; equally as exact about a farthing as a hundred guineas. He had his affairs so arranged, and his papers so placed, that he could find them in the dark.

Amongst a thousand things injurious to his character, it has gone abroad that he kept two Jewish hand-maids with

him night and day—nothing could be more false. He indeed kept two maid-servants, one of whom was a Jewess, and the other a Christian ; but they regularly left the prison at nine o'clock at night, and returned at eight in the morning. To banish care, and relieve his mind from disagreeable subjects, he was wont to spend an hour every day in sporting with his servants ; and this he never failed to do, whatever company might be present. One day, when the Duke of York was there, with some of the courtiers, he walked up to his maids, and began to talk on indifferent subjects ; there was a turkey roasting at the fire, and as the Duke saw the cook employed in conversation, he very obligingly turned it, and shewed that he understood the business of the kitchen as well as the achievements of war.

Lord George conformed very strictly to the rites of the Jewish church ; he fasted when the prophets enjoin fasting, mourned when they mourned, and rejoiced when they rejoiced. Talking freely with him one day on the subject of religion, I hinted how fatal his opinions on that subject, had been to his interest ; he replied, “ that no liberal man “ would advise him to act contrary to his conscience—that “ he, like others, was liable to be wrong ; but that he was “ open to conviction—he concluded with saying, very emphatically, that *a wise man alters his opinion often, but a “ fool never.*”

No man was more beloved by his fellow prisoners than Lord George ; he divided his substance with those who had no money, and did every thing in his power to alleviate their distress. He clothed the naked, and fed the hungry ; but his fortune was inadequate to relieve all their wants.

About this time a Mr. King, of — street, waited upon Lord George, and told him that he was in a declining state of health, and expected soon to pay the debt of nature ; but that he could not go down to the grave in peace, unless he

obtained his forgiveness—He said that he had been long employed as a *spy* by Administration, and that when Lord George lived in Welbeck-street, he had apartments in the opposite house, on purpose to watch his motions: that he took down the name of every person that called upon his Lordship, and followed him wherever he went; when Lord George walked on foot, he followed him on foot, and when he took a coach, he did the same. He marked the places where he called; and if there were any public meetings, he took care to procure admittance, and sent the proceedings regularly to the Secretary of State's office. He added, that ever since the accession of the family of Brunswick, there had been a great number of spies in the pay of Government; but that they had been more than trebled during the present reign. He said that after the expulsion of the Jesuits, (a religious order, without virtue or morality) from the Continent, a shoal of them were pensioned in England, to pry into the secrets of individuals, and betray the confidence of the people.

Upon Lord George's observing that they were in general men of family and education, and surely would not submit to such despicable employments, he rejoined, that there was scarce a coffee-house in London, or family of distinction, where there was not, at least, one belonging to the fraternity. That their favourite maxim was, "*I am made all things to all men, that I might by all means, save some.*" That no employment was too mean for a Jesuit, who at the nod of the superior of his order, puts on the mask, and acts his part with the same ease, whether it be in the circle of the polite, the society of the learned, or in the corner of a smoking club.

There was a time when Britons would have spurned the society of an informer, when virtue and probity only were respected; our fathers gloried in an open, manly conduct,

and nobly rejected the appearance of every thing that was mean ; but how degenerated is their offspring ! Spies and intriguers insinuate themselves into our closets, suspicion and mistrust divide the dearest friends ; muscadins and puppies give the *ton* to our manners, and *honourable poverty* is reckoned a disgrace. The truly virtuous are chased from society, and honesty is laughed to scorn.

In addition to a crowd of Jesuits, who have corrupted our morals and vitiated our youth, we are pestered with above ten thousand priests from France, the very dregs of the human race, the sworn enemies of liberty : the consequence was natural—our armies no longer dare to meet an enemy in the field, but cowardly endeavour to purchase conquest with gold. We have leagued ourselves with the despots of Germany, and vowed destruction to a gallant nation ; we have publicly countenanced an agent from the Pope ; and compelled our soldiers to bow to graven images in Flanders.*

Whilst the French were forming a constitution which justly excited the surprise of the universe, their late tyrant affected much satisfaction, and was eager to swear, on the altar of liberty, an inviolable attachment to the people, at the very instant he was plotting their destruction. A great variety of schemes were planned by his agents to murder the Jacobins, and secure the leading members of the Assembly ; but as none of them succeeded, Louis, with his wife and family, partly by deceiving, and partly by bribing his

* To give the reader a proper idea of our allies, I shall subjoin a short list of their camp equipage, and the arms with which they propose to extirpate twenty-five millions of republicans : viz. 1. The head of St. Charles Borromæus. 2. Blessed stuffs, found in the shrine of St. Dennis. 3. Papers to prove that the relics of St. Vincent are genuine. 4. A tooth of the lower jaw of St. Vincent. 5. A bit of the head and the hair of St. Guignol. 6. A piece of the robe of the Holy Virgin. 7. A piece of the frock of the infant Jesus. 8. The skull of St. Sebastian. 9. The gridiron of St. Laurence. 10. A piece of the true cross. 11. Two phials of the milk of the most Holy Virgin, &c. &c.

guards, escaped the vigilance of his keepers, and set off to join the conspirators on the banks of the Rhine. The patriots of Varennes stopped the fugitive traitor, and carried him back, amidst the triumph of surrounding multitudes. Instead of appearing anxious for the fate of the conspirators, he entered the palace with the cold indifference of a monster, and demanded "*if his supper was ready?*" This was a moment of importance to Republicans; the contest was between prejudice and reason; and Gregoire, one of the staunchest patriots in every stage of the Revolution, wrote as follows to Lord George:

"MY LORD,

"I have been, my Lord, a very long time without answering your letter, from April 9th, 1790, because I had no good news to give you about the intention of the National Assembly. You may have seen your letter to the Committee printed in many of our patriotic journals. I think you are now free. Tell me what is your present situation. I wish you as much happiness as you can wish yourself.

"What is the impression the flight and arrestation of Louis XVI. has made upon your English minds? What do you think the consequence may be of that event? Is the true liberty very near to begin her reign in the three realms? As for me, my whole life shall be spent in establishing and promoting it in France, and in all the world.

"GREGOIRE."

*National Assembly,
Paris, 4th July, 1791.*

Upon the 23d of August, Lord George returned a very long letter to the President, of which the following is an abstract:

*“ To Monsf. Gregoire, President of the Committee of Reports
“ of the National Assembly.*

“ SIR,

“ I received your letter, and perceiving that it furnished
“ matter for deep reflection and deliberation, I enclosed
“ copies of it to M. de Nagell, the Dutch Ambassador here,
“ and to Admiral Kinsbergen, the commander of the Dutch
“ fleet at Amsterdam, whose answers I have since received.
“ I also printed it in the Public Advertiser of London, that
“ the good people of England, by remarking the date of it,
“ and looking for my answer, might observe that I was above
“ taking any advantage over my prosecutor, by giving a
“ hasty or revengeful advice to the National Assembly, when
“ Paris was in a ferment, on his being first arrested and
“ brought back as a high state criminal for trial. I, how-
“ ever, sent a friend of mine, about a month ago, Mr.
“ Louis Courfiaux, to tell you that I would answer your
“ letter in a short time, and have only delayed it till the
“ different passions excited in the minds of the people of
“ Paris, by the event of the King's flight and arrestation,
“ are subsided, or ought to be subsided, into a calm and
“ serious deliberation, suitable to the judicial proceedings
“ of so great a nation, upon the charges of high treason
“ and perjury, exhibited against their King and the rebels.
“ The King has now been long a prisoner under these hei-
“ nous and infamous accusations, and it is time for the
“ people to exercise their sovereignty, in judgment and
“ justice to the nation, the law, and the culprit, if the pre-
“ sent Assembly have any regard for promoting and esta-
“ blishing domestic tranquillity or character in their proceed-
“ ings, as their country and capital are now in immediate
“ and growing danger, from the monstrous existence of
“ two sovereigns. It is now near eight weeks since you
“ required my opinion as to the consequences of those

“ events, and I have refrained hitherto on account of the
“ delicacy and importance of the subject.

“ You are quite mistaken in thinking that I am now
“ free : my present situation is among the felons in New-
“ gate, where I am to remain, if it please God to spare
“ my life, one year and a half more, and to pay a fine of
“ five hundred louis-d’ors, and to give security for fifteen
“ thousand louis-d’ors, for fourteen years to come, for
“ having wrote a few lines in the Public Advertiser, against
“ M. de Breteuil, the Bastile, and the French government
“ in the year 1786. I petitioned the King of France, a
“ year ago, under his title of restorer of liberty, to make
“ an application, through the organ of his Ambassador, M.
“ de la Luzerne, to the Court of London, for my deliver-
“ ance. The keeper of the seals of France, M. de Cece ;
“ the Archbishop of Bourdeaux ; M. de Guiton, captain of
“ dragoons ; M. de Jессe ; M. de la Bertinaye, captain of
“ cavalry ; my brother, the Duke of Gordon ; Susanna,
“ Countess of Westmoreland, my sister, and all my family
“ were pleased to compromise themselves in that petition to
“ the King of France. The King, being advised to it by
“ the keeper of the seals, wrote himself to his worthy con-
“ fident, M. de la Luzerne, and he acquainted me, by let-
“ ter, last February, that he had proceeded according to the
“ directions of his Court, with the Ministry of his Britannic
“ Majesty, and was pleased to add, like a courtier, that he
“ was sorry to say the answer was not favourable to my
“ wishes. The Ministry of his Britannic Majesty also
“ seem to have been in an understanding with the King of
“ France, through the organ of Lord Gower, that he was
“ not sincere in signing the letter for my deliverance ; but
“ acted with the same treacherous duplicity towards me,
“ that he has practised upon the National Assembly.

“ I am accounted by my enemies as one that is gone
 “ down to the pit, that is walled up alive in his grave,
 “ where I am become as one of the shows of London, for
 “ strangers and foreigners to stare at ; yet I will not know-
 “ ingly do them an injustice.

“ You ask of me, what is the impression the flight and
 “ arrestation of Louis XVI. has made upon our English
 “ minds ? I will tell you. We consider his flight as an
 “ abdication of the throne, in the manner of our tyrant
 “ James II. and supposed that you would either have filled
 “ up the vacancy, if you intended to re-establish monarchy,
 “ upon the sinful scheme the English fell into at that time,
 “ of making a stranger, a foreigner, a Prince of Orange,
 “ a King over them ; or if you preferred a Republic to
 “ Monarchy, on account of the exemplary diminishing,
 “ oppressions, and distractions, both at home and abroad,
 “ that England has experienced since the restoration of
 “ Charles II. and the revolution settlement of William,
 “ who to be sure was set up as a King ; but not by God.
 “ We imagined that you would have declared your inde-
 “ pendence of Louis XVI. upon the model of the United
 “ States of America, throwing off the house of Hanover.
 “ But the arrestation of your traitor changed the similarity
 “ of his situation with that of James II. in his flight ; and
 “ his bringing back to Paris, puts him now exactly in the
 “ predicament of Charles I. when brought back from Wind-
 “ sor to London, for high treason and perjury.

“ The arrestation of a King is no childrens’ play ; and
 “ so you will find it, if you do not immediately justify your-
 “ selves in the eyes of the world.

“ To resist the national guards, as the traitor did by his
 “ rebel hussars at Varennes, is a mortal and deadly overt
 “ act of levying war within the realm. The universality of
 “ the design of the insurrection, with the avowed purpose

“ to pull down the National Assembly, and bring back the
“ refractory priests and nobles, made it a rebellion against
“ the state, a general defiance of the National Assembly,
“ and an insolent invasion of the sovereign authority of the
“ people.

“ If La Fayette, like another General Monk, can ac-
“ complish his restoration, you may expect the same exe-
“ cutions and confiscations which were commenced on the
“ restoration of the perfidious Charles II. against that band
“ of patriots, who thought that liberty could not be too
“ dearly bought, though at the expense of royal blood, to
“ be revived against the National Assembly, as well as
“ against every man or woman concerned, directly or indi-
“ rectly, in the arrestation.

“ Are you, my dear friend Gregoire, Rochefoucauld,
“ Biron, Robespierre, Condorcet, and the other patriots
“ in the Assembly, with the brave citizens of Clermont-
“ Ferrand, to be delivered over to these horrid executions?
“ And are you to become the atoning sacrifices to be offered
“ up in consequence of the decree of the inviolability and
“ sacredness of traitors? Is the grace of God to be attri-
“ buted to the backsliding Bourbon? And are the actions
“ of the regenerated spirits of Frenchmen to be stigmatised
“ as the works and instigation of the Devil? No, my
“ friend; I have a better opinion of you and your com-
“ patriots. They have sworn *to live free, or bravely die*;
“ and you have nobly exhorted the good people in your
“ diocese, to be buried in the smouldering wrecks of their
“ country, rather than ever return to their former slavery.
“ Fear not the faces of the perfidious nullities! For even
“ by the young men shall this great multitude of Kings,
“ gathered together against France, like Benhadad and his
“ host of thirty-two kings, warring against Israel in Sama-
“ ria, be delivered into thine hands, if they dare to come up

“ and besiege Paris ! But beware, thou and thy compatriots, that you do not fall into the sin of Ahab, lest your lives shall go for his life, and your people for his people.

“ Are the Jews too in France to be destroyed, because the Pope, that man of sin, his pretended holiness of Rome, has dared to point them out by name for desolation and massacre, in his late bull addressed to the refractory priests and rebels in France, to whom he gives his safety and apostolic benediction, and denominates those enemies of the National Assembly, his dearly beloved sons, and his well-beloved children ? Is the rage of the presumptuous spiritual tyrant roused also against this long oppressed people, because the Assembly has shewed them favour ? The Jews in France were indeed soon penetrated with admiration and respect, on beholding the multiplied acts of justice which proceeded from your Assembly, and they deposited in the midst of you the solemn testimony of their patriotism and devotedness ; their solemn oath to sacrifice, in every instance, their lives and fortunes for the public good. One sole object rules and animates all their thoughts,—the good of their country, and a desire of dedicating to it all their strength. In that respect, they will not yield to any inhabitants of France ; they will dispute the palm with all the citizens, for zeal, courage, and patriotism. Their exaltation to citizenship is yet but like a dream ; the sharpened sword of destruction will be brought forth for their certain slaughter, if the army of Condé ever reaches Paris. Feasts and sabbaths, and music and dancing are enjoyed under the Assembly ; but the Seine will become as a river of Babylon, by their weeping and affliction, if they return any more to their late task-masters, the lords of Egypt. Corn, oil, wine, and salt are become plenty and cheap under the new government ; but scarcity and intolerable *taxes* will

“ come in again hand in hand with the dominion of pride,
 “ Fruits of goodly trees, and a cheerful blowing of trumpets
 “ on the *new year*, under the Assembly of the Nation ; but
 “ mourning and blackness, like the fast of the fifth month,
 “ if the old persecutors, and worshippers of the Pope, re-
 “ turn to the government.

“ What is the impression which these heinous and infa-
 “ mous charges against the King have made upon your
 “ French minds ? Is embracery yet attempted to influence
 “ the Assembly ? A kingdom like yours, divided against
 “ itself, will soon be brought to desolation ; and a King
 “ divided from his honour, is not worthy to be esteemed as
 “ the chief of the *citizens*. What are the Assembly about ?
 “ What is liberty ? What is it to be free ? M. de Lolme
 “ has answered in a few words : *to live in a state where the*
 “ *laws are equal for all, and sure to be executed, is to be free.*”
 “ This state of freedom is what the Assembly have long
 “ talked about, and promised to twenty-five millions of
 “ people ; but if they now dastardly and partially proceed
 “ against subalterns and postillions for high treason and per-
 “ jury, and let the high state criminal escape, their represen-
 “ tation of the eighty-three departments degenerates at
 “ once into the grossest abuse of their constituents, and every
 “ supposed requisite of appointment and powers, primary
 “ assemblies, and all that elective apparatus, becomes a
 “ matter of mere amusement, without use or signification
 “ to the nation ; and a certain means of prolonging anarchy,
 “ confusion, and the King’s misery and suffering.

“ Believe me, they are not swords with scabbards that
 “ will determine a civil war. But on this subject I shall
 “ make use of the very words of Lord Mansfield, a great
 “ favourite with George III. which he pronounced in the
 “ Upper House of Parliament, when conciliatory measures
 “ were proposed for the Americans ; and when our friends

“ Hancock, Franklin, &c. were proscribed as traitors and
 “ rebels in the royal manifestoes ; his sentence was, addres-
 “ sing himself to the Lords and Bishops, *you have passed*
 “ *the Rubicon ; and if you do not kill them, they will kill you.*

“ You ask me, is the true liberty very near to begin her
 “ reign in the three realms ? We have eating and drink-
 “ ing clubs, as Lord Fitzgibbon has denominated them.
 “ A certain restless faction, who have no regard for any
 “ system of government or morals, that excludes them from
 “ power, and who will stoop to any artifice to raise them-
 “ selves into places of trust and emolument, by deceiving a
 “ good, but credulous people, are suspected to be the con-
 “ trivers, promoters, and leaders of these eating and drink-
 “ ing societies, who are themselves ignorant of their master’s
 “ design. A toast from the chair, to the immortal and
 “ glorious memory of King William (*risum tenetis*) sets
 “ bounds to all their ideas of pure and unadulterated royalty ;
 “ and the nine huzzas that accompany it, promote such a
 “ draught of political sentiment, and such a heavy charge
 “ of glasses, that all regenerating operations and reforma-
 “ tion work is soon after drowned and overwhelmed in
 “ bawdy songs and noise, or evaporated in smoke and dul-
 “ ness, and an adjournment, *sine die*, or till next year, or
 “ till it please his grace, or my lord, or the honourable
 “ member, to call his tools of the faction together again.

“ Very early in this reign, after an inglorious peace was
 “ patched up with France, and a yielding disposition was
 “ intimated with respect to the future government of Ca-
 “ nada, Edmund Burke was stationed as a species of lord
 “ ordinary, chancellor, or president over the whigs in the
 “ Marquis of Rockingham’s connection, to be his private
 “ secretary, and to lead him in the way he was wished to
 “ be led. The Rev. — O’Burne was also quartered,
 “ some time after, upon the families and followers of the

“ Dukes of Portland and Devonshire, to be private secre-
 “ tary, &c. to their administration. Richard Brinsley
 “ Sheridan was next brought forward upon the political
 “ stage, as a kind of manager, dresser, and prompter to the
 “ less distinguished actors in the blue and buff uniform ;
 “ and the other apparent or expecting party is so heavily
 “ cowed and hag-ridden in another shape, though more un-
 “ fortunately and indissolubly for themselves, that the Go-
 “ vernment and the Ministry have little now to fear for
 “ their present settled and understood system of politics,
 “ from such leaders of the people. The late affair of burning
 “ the meeting-houses at Birmingham, by a mob crying out
 “ for *church and king, and down with the protestant dissenters*,
 “ was by some regarded as the beginning of troubles, and
 “ as an excitement and revival of reformation work in the
 “ land ; and as a dawn of hope for the relief of the dissen-
 “ ters from undue tests and tythes ; but it seems now to be
 “ all amicably negociated between the adverse parties ; the
 “ deluded rioters are kept for trial, and addresses of thanks
 “ to the ministry are preparing by the Birmingham manu-
 “ facturers.

“ The treaty of commerce with France is greatly in fa-
 “ vour of England, in point of trade and manufactures ;
 “ but then M. de Breteuil and the other cunning devisers of
 “ that treaty, saw that some bait of this advantageous sort
 “ in worldly concerns, was necessary, as the main design of
 “ that treaty always was, to import an immense number of
 “ foreigners, of the principles and politics of M. de Bre-
 “ teuil, into England, to incorporate into all our manu-
 “ facturing towns and sea-ports, and to propagate their ar-
 “ bitrary principles by law, as they do at this day. This
 “ French treaty, now fully co-operating with our excise
 “ laws, which for some years past have been gradually ad-
 “ vancing to that state of perfection in which the revenues

“ of Portugal are collected, serve together to prevent the
“ people of our sea-ports and manufacturing towns from
“ even thinking about the true liberty being very near to
“ begin her reign in the three realms. The generality of
“ the foreigners at present in England detest your Assembly
“ and politics, and are exerting every art in their power to
“ effect a counter-revolution, and to harden the hearts of
“ our ministry against revolution principles. But all these
“ means of keeping the Englishmen in subjection, and
“ preserving the domestic tranquillity, seem not to avail in
“ that full extent it may be desired; for fear has certainly
“ taken hold of some very great personages in this kingdom,
“ on the subject of the present intercourse with France;
“ our sea-ports and manufacturing towns being now as le-
“ gally laid open, by the articles of the treaty of commerce,
“ to your friends and followers, as they were at first to M.
“ de Breteuil’s spies, informers, and refractory priests.
“ Nothing, however, more than whispers and murmurs,
“ have been heard as yet; and Dublin, Madrid, or Lisbon,
“ are not watched by a more ready and loyal police. If
“ two or three little French *milliners* are seen chatting in the
“ street, with national ribbons; or if half a dozen jolly
“ Englishmen order a dinner at a tavern, with the most
“ harmless appearance, the *Chevalier Sampson Wright*,
“ our governor of police, is immediately ordered to be
“ prepared, with the whole civil power; and the non-
“ commissioned officers of the life-guards, dragoons, and
“ foot-guards and horse-guards, are all immediately assembled
“ in the orderly room at Whitehall, to receive their orders.

“ This alarm in the government, and such hostile ar-
“ rangements as if some enemy had landed, when nothing
“ is to be seen by vulgar eyes, is unaccountable as yet to
“ the public; but certainly the ministry have their private
“ reasons for it. Some ugly symptoms appear at St.

“ James’s; yet I hardly think that Mr. Pitt will attempt
 “ to fascinate and embrace them, as accomplices with the
 “ German Princes, in a meretricious crusade against the
 “ National Assembly, and the whole system of morality in
 “ Europe. But you must be upon your guard; for M. del
 “ Campo, the Ambassador from Spain, lives at Windsor,
 “ where his Majesty resides, and is supposed, from his
 “ intimacy and frequent conferences upon business, to be
 “ his most confidential adviser for foreign affairs, at this crisis,

“ A crowd of Jesuits are pouring in upon us; they are
 “ countenanced at Court, and unless the torrent is stopped,
 “ the rising generation will be ruined in their morals and
 “ education.

“ The acts made in favour of liberty, from 1638 to
 “ 1650, are totally disregarded. No member of parlia-
 “ ment dares ever be heard pleading upon any thing then
 “ transacted as an unexceptionable precedent. No court of
 “ justice will ground a single decision upon a parliamentary
 “ deed of that period. But the acts of the perfidious
 “ Charles II. however opposite some of them to the prin-
 “ ciples of the revolution, are now in high fashion, in full
 “ force, and in daily use; whilst the acts of our national
 “ covenanting times, so perfectly agreeable to the principles
 “ of the peoples’ liberties, are expunged and forgotten. If
 “ we consider the neglect of this period, at the settlement
 “ of William as a King, in a political light, we have rea-
 “ son enough to lament and mourn that the three realms
 “ did not profit, as they might have profited by the endea-
 “ vour of my grandfather,* and some of the most upright
 “ and enlightened patriots that ever adorned our country,
 “ to secure to themselves and posterity the enjoyment of
 “ civil liberty.

* The Duke of Gordon opposed both William and the Union, and defended the Castle of Edinburgh against him to the last extremity.

“ I think it my duty to let you know that there is a very
“ great difference between Scotland and the other two
“ realms, with respect to their opinion of the system of
“ ***** ; which is a matter the National Assembly may
“ soon have occasion to deliberate upon, if troublesome
“ times require it.

“ Experience is the best barometer of speculation. Re-
“ formation must come from the people themselves, and
“ not from the leaders of factious cabals. The people are
“ only beginning to think, and to associate ; and though
“ the reign of liberty is not immediately to be expected
“ here, because the sons of Zeruiah are yet too strong, I
“ would not wish you to conclude that no sort of assistance
“ is to be expected from these realms.

“ The intention you are pleased to express of spending
“ your whole life in promoting and establishing liberty in
“ France, and in all the world, gives new hope to all the
“ well-affected in the three realms, that they may be benefited
“ through your Encyclopedian learning, and profound po-
“ lity, which are as much acknowledged here, as by the
“ Royal Society of Arts and Sciences at Metz, or in the
“ Assembly of your nation ; and your undertaking the deli-
“ verance of such a poor oppressed individual as I am, and
“ amalgamating his situation at this awful conjuncture,
“ with the general defence of the rights of the people of
“ France, calls particularly for the most sincere and grate-
“ ful acknowledgments from me. May the *Lord* himself
“ reward thee, for this kindness to thy servant ! I had
“ fainted, unless I had believed to see the goodness of the
“ *Lord* in the land of the living ; for though I walk in
“ the valley of the shadow of death, I will fear no evil ; for
“ *God* is with us ! The *Lord* hear thee in the day of trou-
“ ble ; the name of the *God* of *Jacob* defend thee, and thy
“ Assembly. Send thee help from the sanctuary, and strengthen

“ thee out of Zion. Grant thee according to thine own
 “ heart, and fulfil all thy council. We will rejoice in thy
 “ salvation; and *in the name of our God we will set up our*
 “ *banners.* Some trust in chariots, and some in horses,
 “ and some in *German* princes; but we will remember the
 “ name of the *Lord* our *God.* May the *Lord* bless the
 “ Assembly, and lead them in his righteousness; and be-
 “ cause of their enemies, make his way straight before their
 “ faces!

“ These are the things that ye shall do; speak ye every
 “ man the truth to his neighbour; execute the judgment of
 “ truth and peace in your gates; and let none of you ima-
 “ gine evil in your hearts against his neighbour; and love
 “ no false oath, like that in the new constitutional charter;
 “ for all these are things that I hate, saith the *Lord* of all
 “ the world.

“ I am, my much esteemed friend,

“ Thy dutiful and humble servant,

“ G. GORDON.”

Felons' Side, Newgate Prison,

London, Aug. 23, 1791.

This letter, which contains a great deal of political information, was translated into French by Gregoire, and distributed among the Jacobins, and the other popular societies. Gregoire and the rest of Lord George's correspondents voted for the immediate trial of the King; but gold, and the force of prejudice prevailed over reason: the King, instead of a gibbet, was mounted on a throne, and the nation was once more subjected to a perjured tyrant. Lord George has the merit of delineating La Fayette, in his proper colours, and denouncing him, at a time when he was little suspected, even among the Jacobins themselves.

But though the republicans were cruelly butchered in the *Champ de Mars*, they neither forgot their rights nor their duty ; they only retired to cement that *fraternal union* which has shaken superstition to its center, and threatens to level all the satellites of despotism with the dust.

Nothing can fix a more indelible stigma on the eighteenth century, (unless it be the present combination of despots) than the slave trade. Whilst individuals are harassed and persecuted for mere speculative opinions, our merchants murder by thousands, and our legislators sanctify the crime. This barbarous commerce, the disgrace of modern Europe, has desolated the most fertile provinces of Africa, and extended its baneful influence over every quarter of the globe. It has, however, been constantly deprecated by the friends of freedom, whom neither time nor custom has reconciled to a system of blood. A few years ago, a great majority of the British nation turned their attention to this horrid traffic, and resolved to persevere in procuring its *total* abolition.

As habit has familiarised us with the productions of the Indies, and rendered them necessary for our comfort and ease, it was resolved to plant colonies at Sierra Leona and Bulam, to cultivate sugar and other commodities peculiar to the climate, by employing the inhabitants, and paying them for their labour. This was reckoned necessary, to prevent any sudden rise in the price of merchandise which the new system might affect. In fact, the nations that have no colonies of their own, always procure their productions at the cheapest rate ; and we are fully of opinion that it would be of great advantage to Britain, if we had no more to do with them than we have with the continent of America. Indeed, if we may judge from America, the event would be equally fortunate for the West Indies.

Our parliament made a great parade about liberty, humanity, &c. and a new coalition of Fox and Pitt on the subject,

imposed upon the credulous. Lord George, who was seldom deceived by the delusions of the Cabinet, wrote a letter to the House of Commons, in which he taxes them with treachery and design. "The National Assembly," he observed, "first emancipated the people of colour, and then offered to concert measures with England for abolishing the trade altogether. The English, on the contrary, only talked about regulating the African trade; but never seriously intended to emancipate their slaves in the West Indies. It is, in fact, the design of the British Cabinet, that they should remain slaves, and breeders of slaves, from generation to generation." This may be agreeable to English jurisprudence; but is it justice? is it liberty? is it equality? is it walking according to the light in the consciences of the friends of Mr. Wilberforce, the hero of the abolition? The conscientious Quakers have given an example worthy of imitation; they emancipated their own slaves first, and afterwards recommended to their neighbours *to go and do likewise*.

In consequence of the apparent agreement amongst the Commons, the bill for the abolition of the slave trade was sent to the Upper House. It was necessary that many witnesses should be examined, to prove the cruelties that were exercised towards the negroes; and Dr. Dowlin, and a great number came forward, at the request of Mr. Wilberforce and the Committee, to accuse Captain Kimber with the wanton murder of a young girl. The Duke of Clarence *nobly volunteered* in support of slavery, and Kimber was acquitted. As soon as the Committee perceived his Royal Highness and the Court party were serious, they had neither virtue nor resolution to perform their duty; they retired behind the curtain, meanly deserted their post, and left Dowlin to be convicted of perjury. The Lords, of

course, postponed the consideration of the bill for another year, and the slave trade goes on as briskly as ever.

Every age produces eccentric characters; and they generally abound in populous cities; but amongst a great variety which I have seen at Lord George's, I shall select one for the amusement of my readers:

One evening a young lady from Oxford-street waited upon his lordship, and requested the favour of a private audience; as she was an entire stranger, he thought proper to decline, and signified as there were none but friends present, that she might safely communicate what she had to say. After much hesitation, she assumed a solemn air, and with a hollow tone of voice, said, that six months ago she had conceived by the power of the Holy Ghost, without any communication with man, which had rendered her very miserable and unhappy, till the night before, when the angel Gabriel had appeared to her, and exhorted her to be of good cheer. He announced that the end of the world was at hand, as might be seen by the fulfilment of the ancient prophecies; and revealed many things hidden in the womb of time, particularly respecting France, Rome, and Great Britain. He assured her that the consummation of all things was at hand, and added, that the child she was about to bring forth, was destined to announce the glad tidings of universal redemption, and commanded her to go quickly to Lord George, and follow his advice; upon which he vanished in an instant.

As Lord George seemed to avoid entering into particulars, I was induced to reason with her on the impropriety of her conduct. She soon convinced me that she was in the way in which women wish to be; and I was not a little surprised at the abilities which she displayed in supporting her story. Upon my endeavouring to demonstrate the impossibility of her narrative, she quickly shifted her ground, and observed

that the whole history of revelation was equally mysterious, and that to question the possibility of one miracle was to undermine the whole. We saw the force of her argument without being convinced; and this immaculate virgin retired, pitying our want of faith; whilst we smiled at her miraculous conception.

About this time the Polish Revolution, which gave the Empress of Russia an opportunity to prosecute her ambitious designs, made a great noise in the political circles. To counteract her intentions, it was proposed to raise a subscription in London, in favour of the King of Poland; and as few people understood the state of parties in that distracted country better than Lord George, he wrote a letter to the Committee at the London Tavern, in which he demonstrates that their money would be of no use to the cause of freedom. He affirms that as the King of Poland, under the plausible pretext of rendering the people happy, had changed the government from a republic to an hereditary monarchy, he and the Empress secretly understood one another. In France, continues he, the rights of man proceeded from the people to the King; in Poland they took a contrary direction. In France, the King's prerogative has been diminished; in Poland it has been greatly increased—hence proceeds their divisions at home, and their want of credit abroad; and hence Mr. Burke became its patron and tutelar saint. However singular Lord George might have been in his opinions at the time, the timid, pusillanimous conduct of the King, and the late usurpations of the Empress, have unfortunately proved his suggestions too well founded.

The imperious Catherine has long *affected* to defend the oppressed against the oppressor, that she may the more securely crush both. She has been continually carrying her arms from Europe into Asia, and from Asia into Eu-

rope ; but it is in vain that she flatters herself that the Polonese will quietly bear a yoke which they detest. She little knows that a grand fraternal union is already formed, which will eventually hurl her from her throne, and emancipate the world from bondage.

Whilst Lord George was libelled by courtiers and priests, he received an address from the inhabitants of Bohemia, thanking him for his exertions in the cause of suffering humanity, condoling over his misfortunes, and praying the grand Disposer of events to preserve a life so useful to society.

During his travels in America, Lord George had formed an acquaintance with Mr. Morrison, the late Ambassador of the United States at Paris, and through his correspondence he learned, that neither the Senate nor Executive Council in America were well inclined to the democratic cause. Mr. Morrison, in talking of the Jacobins, observes, “ that a new sect had arisen in France, who affected to “ despise all religion ; but who, in fact, were more enthusiastically bent on making proselytes, and more ready to “ lay the earth waste with fire and sword to accomplish their “ designs, than any that had gone before them.” As Lord George supposed this information to be of much importance to the cause of liberty, he immediately communicated it to Condorcet, Brissot, Marat, Robespierre, and Gregoire. Morrison became suspected by the republicans, and all his actions were narrowly watched.

After the 10th of August, 1792, steps were immediately taken to counteract the manœuvres of the American senate. Whatever the event may be, we will not venture to predict ; but we are warranted in saying, that Lord George’s communication was the original cause of the attempts made by Genet, &c. to separate the people from their governors.

Upon the 28th of January, 1793, when the term of his imprisonment had expired, he went, accompanied by a number of his friends, to the Court of King's Bench, to give in the requisite securities. As he had been long accustomed to wear his hat, he was apprehensive of taking cold, and gave orders to buy a red night-cap,* for the purpose of wearing in the Court; but as it was judged politic to avoid giving offence, he was prevailed upon to give up his design. The crowd was so great that he entered with difficulty, and as soon as the Judges had taken their seats, they ordered his hat to be taken off. Upon which he very deliberately bound his head round with a three-coloured handkerchief, in form of a turban, and asked if the Court would permit him, as counsellor for himself, to say a few words; which the Court assenting to, he said, "I directed my attorney
 "to prosecute those measures for my enlargement, which
 "the order of the Court required. In the reading of that
 "order, he informed me, first, that five hundred pounds

* ORIGIN OF THE CAP OF LIBERTY:

The Romans originally went with their heads bare; or, in case of cold weather, covered them with their *toga*—At length, when either old or infirm, they indulged themselves with wearing a cap. As age was then honourable, so caps became marks of distinction, and as none could command respect who were not free, the cap, by degrees, became the badge of freedom, and when a slave obtained his liberty, he had a cap given him, which he was permitted to wear in public.

The cap is quite simple in its form, common in its texture, and was originally of a whitish colour; its being broad at the bottom, and towering up like a cone, prefigures that freedom stands on the broad basis of humanity; it is simple, because liberty is in *itself*, the most shining ornament of man; it hath no gilded trappings, which too often mark the livery of despotism; and its rising up to a pyramid, the emblem of eternity, signifies that it will last for ever. It is made of wool, to denote that liberty is the birth-right of the shepherd, as well as of the senator. It was originally white, the colour of the wool undyed, to demonstrate that it should be unfalsified by faction, and unstained by tyranny. In modern times it has been changed to red, as in France, to shew that we ought not to part with it, even at the expence of our blood.

“ were claimed of me as a fine. That money I am now
“ ready to pay. The Chief Justice of this Court, Lord
“ Kenyon, having been my counsellor and friend in the
“ year 1781, when I was accused by the King of high
“ treason, knows very well my pecuniary circumstances,
“ amounting in the whole to an annuity of 500l. not alien-
“ able, nor assignable to any purpose whatever, but merely
“ for aliment. In such a case, it appears very strange,
“ that though this annuity be not alienable nor assignable,
“ for any purpose whatever, through the process of the
“ civil laws, yet the King’s Attorney General has disco-
“ vered means to strip me of it, by the criminal laws of
“ this Court.

“ The next demand I was required to prepare for, is
“ that of two sureties, in two thousand five hundred pounds
“ each, in addition to my own assurance of ten thousand
“ pounds. These also I have obtained, and they are now
“ at hand—Francis Collins, Hatter; and John Bernard,
“ Gent. They are men whose characters are without re-
“ proach; their integrity is unimpeachable; in their situa-
“ tion and circumstances, they are, and have for many
“ years, been fixed and established on the spot where they
“ are now described to reside: and their value and considera-
“ tion in life, their persons, their fortunes, their liberties,
“ all these they are ready to risque in my behalf. They
“ will be found, in fact, (unless the lives and liberties of
“ mankind are to be valued or bought at the low considera-
“ tion of pounds, shillings, and pence) in all respects,
“ completely adequate. And as it is a mere fiction which
“ the Court themselves chose to adopt, by supposing me
“ worth ten thousand pounds, the same fiction, in justice,
“ ought to be held good by the Court, in proportion to
“ the sureties, unless the Court really intended imprison-

“ment for life, when they demanded such excessive and
“unprecedented bail.

“I hope I have complied with the severest strictness of
“of your sentence. Indeed I have done all that is in my
“power to do, and therefore being fairly assured of that
“principle of the law of England, which declares, “*No*
“*man shall have a larger fine imposed upon him than his cir-*
“*cumstances will bear*, I claim the justice and humanity of
“that law from this Court.”

Here the Attorney General interposed, and produced an affidavit, which did not at all go to impeach the characters or integrity of the sureties, but merely denied their entire sufficiency to justify, to the full amount of so large a sum as the sentence demanded. Mr. Collins and Mr. Bernard were then sworn, and in reply to the questions of the Attorney General, said, that it was true their fortunes did not quite amount to two thousand five hundred pounds each; but they were well informed that it was not customary to justify.

Lord George told the Court, that in the cases of Horne Tooke, and other libel cases, there was no precedent of the sureties being required to justify; and he hoped the Court would not permit the Attorney General to vary the practice in his case. Lord Kenyon replied, “that the Court had
“no discretion in the matter, but it rested entirely with the
“King, being the prosecutor, whether to insist or not
“upon the justification.” And on this determination he was remanded to Newgate. He looked at the Judges with an indignant frown, and said, in returning, “that he felt
“more for the servile *complaisance* of the Court, than for
“his own misfortunes.”

The Court, contrary to the express terms of the English constitution, if any constitution exists, imposed a fine upon

him which he was never able to pay. In his person, *Magna Charta* has been violated ; and what was his fate to-day, may be ours to-morrow.—If the liberty of Britons depend upon the will of a minister, or the caprice of a judge, farewell to freedom. Our fathers fought and bled in vain. What does it avail me, whether I am sent to the Bastile, in virtue of *lettres de cachet*, or doomed to fall a victim to disease in an English prison ? Why insult my feelings with the sacred name of liberty, whilst a merciless gaoler clanks the chains of despotism in my ear ?

Lord George was well acquainted with the state of parties in Ireland, and carried on a regular correspondence with them all ; and amongst others, with the *temporising* Lord Shannon. This nobleman formerly ranked high in the *livre rouge*, he enjoyed a place worth 3000*l.* a year ; but during the King's insanity, he deserted the ministerial standard, upon the express condition of being created a Duke. When his Majesty recovered, he found himself without either pension or dukedom : in a state of disappointed ambition, he joined the reformers, and vigorously supported the Catholic Convention at Dublin. No libeller in Newgate was more lavish in his abuse of the present Administration, than Lord Shannon ; and he frequently affirmed that bribery and corruption were at such a pitch, that unless some concessions were made to the Irish, it would be impossible to carry on the farce of Government much longer.

Lord George thought proper to publish some of his letters in the newspapers. When they first made their appearance in print, Shannon, who was in company with Hamilton Rowan, and other reformers, seemed much agitated, and said, “ Lord George has hung me up.” This anecdote was told me by Hamilton Rowan himself. As Shannon had great parliamentary interest, and could be of weight to

any party, Administration hesitated, whether it was safest to prosecute him, or take him into pay—they preferred the latter; and Shannon, besides fourteen thousand pounds which he received in cash, enjoys his old sinecure, and is now a zealous member of the secret committee for prosecuting those societies, on whose exertions, as he himself has frequently said, the liberty of his country depends.—What a glorious constitution must ours be, when such means are taken to support it! And what must the Irish nation feel, when their industry is so profusely squandered in rewarding apostasy.

Much has been said about insurrections and sedition, since a parcel of school-boys planted the tree of liberty at Dundee. The Master of the Ordnance has fortified the Tower, and the train-bands of London have been summoned to arms. Proclamations have followed proclamations, and the constitution has been declared in danger. The Lord Mayor has been dubbed a knight, for his loyalty; and Pitt has gloried in the suppression of those debating societies, in which he formerly himself displayed his *studied* oratory. Wonders succeeded wonders in the Cabinet, till a consciousness of guilt alarmed our ministers; they startle at a shadow, suspect their private agents, and seemed to dread.

Early in the summer, a deputation of sailors waited upon Lord George, lamented his cruel imprisonment, and proposed to come, to the number of several thousands, and liberate him by force. They signified that they were ready to revenge the injuries he had received, and plant the *tree of liberty* on the borders of the Thames; or, if he thought the people not yet sufficiently enlightened to adopt such measures, they offered to convey him in safety to France.

Much caution was necessary; it was possible they might be hired by his enemies, to lay a trap for his destruction;

on the other hand, many of them were his countrymen, whom he had known since the year 1780 ; they had seen a great deal of the world, and some of them had figured in the revolutions of America and France. Liberty is dearer to an independent mind, than life itself ; and to procure by force, what had been unjustly denied him, was extremely natural. An affair, however, of such magnitude, was neither to be rashly adopted, nor treated with indifference—he therefore dispatched a *faithful messenger* to Wapping, to sound their dispositions. Matters were found in a proper train, the leaders panted for action, and the main body wanted nothing but the signal to advance—

“ There is a tide in the affairs of men ;

“ Which taken at the flood, leads on to fortune ;

“ Omitted, all the voyage of their life

“ Is bound in shallows, and in miseries.”

They intreated him to give the necessary orders for the attack ; but from so doing, prudential motives prevented him ; several messages passed between them, and at length, by mutual agreement, it was postponed. Whether the plan was ultimately abandoned, or only deferred, till matters were sufficiently ripe, I have not been able to learn. When men think they sleep in peace, danger is often at hand. To reign in security, a Prince must reign in the affections of his people ; without which both foreign guards and mercenary foldiers will prove but a feeble defence. Terror has been too long the order of the day ; but the blood of every martyr in defence of liberty produces fifty converts to the cause : and it is as impossible to make men *loyal*, by imprisonment or pillory, as it is to change the revolution of the planetary system.

Many persons came forward to bail Lord George ; but as the Solicitors to the Treasury have assumed a power to take forty-eight hours of inquiring into their sufficiency ;

the secret agents of government always found means to frighten them with the danger of paying the fine, or the suspicion of being disaffected. To the honour of Mrs. Baird, a lady from Glasgow, she voluntarily offered herself as one of his bail—another was only wanting to have obtained his liberty. Many sinister attempts were made to dissuade her from her resolution, but she remained steady to the last; and from regard to his memory, she now bears his name.

Most of his relations are wallowing in every species of excess, and they often gamble more in one evening, than would have been sufficient to have procured him his liberty; but the *servile* tools of a corrupt Court have no will of their own. Surrounded by dependents, they themselves are slaves, amongst whom every tender feeling is sacrificed to a preposterous etiquette. From this charge justice demands that I should except the Countess of Westmoreland, who carried on the most affectionate correspondence with him, till his death. It is true his death has added five hundred a year to the overgrown fortune of the Duke; but if any sensibility remain, has it added to his happiness? And who will venture to affirm that it is an honourable acquisition?

The arrival of a public agent from the Pope, whom he used to call "*the presumptuous spiritual tyrant of the south*," made Lord George very uneasy; for though he was not surprised that a Jesuit should be a favourite at St. James's, he felt for the expiring liberties of his country; and was busy in procuring intelligence respecting the Spital-field weavers, on whose account he was preparing an address to the public, for he thought it extremely unjust, that the French clergy and noblesse should be liberally supported, whilst our industrious tradesmen are suffering all the ex-

tremes of cold and hunger : but in the middle of this honourable career, he was arrested by the hand of death.

For several weeks a fever of the most malignant kind had raged amongst the felons in Newgate—Lord George first caught the infection, and in the course of a few days became delirious ; he, however, recovered his senses for some time before his death, which happened on the tenth day.

A gentleman asked him if he chose a minister of any religion to attend him ; but he declined, saying, “ that he “ had led such a life, as made him not afraid to die.”—About the eighth day I acquainted him with the execution of the late Queen of France ; upon which he very emphatically said, “ that she was not the last of the royal corps “ that would fall a victim to the guillotine.” A few hours before his death, he repeatedly exclaimed, “ O, Duke ! “ Duke !” and, after singing *Ca ira*, he bade the world an eternal adieu, on the 1st of November, 1793.

Thus lived and thus died Lord George Gordon, the enemy of tyrants, and the friend of the oppressed ; a man of the strictest virtue, the greatest philanthropy, and the most unfulfilled honour. In what I have said, I have neither been stimulated by resentment, nor restrained by fear, my bosom is equally a stranger to both. I have written what I knew, and expressed what I feel.

F I N I S.





